### BACK PAGE

## Lower majority causes few upheavals



It is five years since the age of majori-Lty was reduced from 21 to 18. At the time of the change, many parents feared

But a poll by the German Youth Institute in Munich shows that the conflict between the generations is not as great as is generally assumed and that most parental worries dating from the change have not been realised.

The study was commissioned by the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry to establish what experience juveniles and parents have had with the new Act.

Of the 500 young people interviewed (the money allocated did not permit any wider ranging polls) 78 per cent of those between 17 and 21 still lived with their

Though one in two contemplated moving out, only 6 per cent wanted to "do so at any cost when the next opportunity presents itself" because they could not stand life in the parental

Most, sociologist Richard Rathgeber concluded in the 200-page study, stay at home because they feel happy there and because they get along well with their parents.

Initial fears that 18-year-olds could reject parental suggestions in choosing their future occupations out of rebelliousness have not been confirmed.

Spitefulness or indeed the much vaunted conflict between the generations is much less frequent than generally assumed.

"A vast majority likes to receive parental advice when it comes to important decisions," says Herr Rathgeber.

Imost half of Germany's young

This is the of a study by the Munich

A people are afraid to speak their

minds for fear of the consequences.

But parents must be truly counselling and not use their authority or try to talk their children into something.

Of those polled, 83 per cent said: "I'm quite prepared to take advice from my parents but I want to decide whether to accept or reject it."

Only one in 10 insisted on personal

Another fear in connection with the Age of Majority Act has also failed to materialise: The young adults did not "opt out." Just under 96 per cent said that they would complete whatever training they started.

Only 1.5 per cent dreamed of opting out, saying: "I just want to do nothing at all for a while."

In the age group between 18 and 21, Herr Rathgeber sums up, they only want to complete their occupational training.

During training, 86 per cent of the girls and 78 per cent of the boys depended on their parents - mostly for onger than a year.

Not only gymnasium students (secondary school leading to university enrolment) but apprentices also were financially dependent on their parents.

The study concludes: "Apprentice wages are inadequate to allow the young people to stand on their own feet in 75 per cent of the cases."

Where youngsters live in the parental home, it has become obvious that more and more parents are prepared to tolerate their being out at night and dating.

"Curfews" have dropped from 40 to just under 10 per cent. Even so, one in three 18-year-olds still has to be home at a certain hour. But this applies mostly

It speaks in favour of the Act, the authors of the study say, that one-third of the young people interviewed consider it socially necessary.

Especially in cases where parents interfere in the private sphere of young



adults majority at 18 buttresses their self

They can make their own decisions,

"The positive effect lies in the fact

that the young adults, their self confi-

dence strengthened, learn how to cops

The view that these immature adults

Though young people do opt out on

"The only negative point to have

emerged from the study is the effect of

the Act on the public education sys-

tem." The young adult who is com-pleting his training in an institution

must forgo the rights he has only just

Once discharged from the institution,

All in all, the law "simply enacted

what had become a reality in our society

he mostly finds himself without money,

occasion, this has nothing to do with

would be overtaxed has not been con-

be it at school or on the job, regardless

of the parents' incomes.

firmed, the authors say.

the Age of Majority Act.

work and housing.

(Cartoon: Tomaschoff / Süddentschild

### New school to Common Agricultural Policy, which foster talent

A special school for Germany's; Waterloo at which the British and the Germans join forces against the shortly by the Christliches Jugente French, although one could well imagine werk (Christian youth village out Helmut Schmidt in the role of Blücher, tion), at Göppingen, Baden-Witt the Prussian general.

So far this body has provided at feel any inclination to follow in Blüchthan 100 educational institution to ers footsteps and rush to Mrs Thatcher's gaps in the German educational spire essistance in her battle with M. Giscard Germany's super-IQ children will d'Estaine. longer have to sit through their is bored to tears and apathetic.

To start with, the organisation will a tablish a fifth grade at its humani school to cater exclusively to less the dren. Two additional classes at 10 !low at annual intervals.

Bodo Volkmann, a mathematica : fessor at the Technical University Stuttgart and president of the organ tion (he began it) expects protest German education experts. But this is not worry him.

"We don't consider it undemorali: provide different facilities for differ degrees of talent," says Professor Ve. (Frankfurter Aligemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 March 1980)

Children attending the new & must have an IQ of at least 140 (All: Einstein's IQ was 172 while the nation average ranges between 90 and 109).

The minds of these children are a stantly questioning and this goes if back to infancy: They start talking is before the age of two, and by the E THE ARTS they are six to eight their vocabus equals that of an educated adult (6, picuously, they constantly ask 4

The new school intends to accept these super-talented children year. They will be carefully screened intellectual and character suitability. selection board is particularly intensive days to seriously consider a special in personality compatibility to pass the emergence of elite consciousness

their talent as "an obligation to social Subjects and curriculum have not Subjects and curriculum have not played a minor role.

been fixed but it is certain that Once it was a member of the EEC

have had such school for some time. I different shape.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 14 March 19)

There would certainly have been no

such thing as the Common Agricultural Policy in its present form.

Schmidt, Thatcher probe

EEC cash options

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Britain seems readler to compromise and agree to a package deal to offset what the General de Gaulle later blackballed the British not only because in reckoned they were America's henchmen in Europe but also because he was afraid they would never accept the EEC's farm poli-

He had found it difficult enough to persuade Bonn to agree to the CAP, succeeding only by threatening to collapse the Community.

Had they only been founder-members of the EEC the British would probably not now be in the sorry state of having to beg for alms as the third-poorest of the Nine.

Like the Germans they could have exploited the opportunities presented by an EEC home market and customs union to step up exports of industrial goods to foot the growing Common Market farm bill.

But when Britain finally joined the Six in 1973 it was too late. Markets had, for the most part, been carved up and Britain was no longer the competitive major industrial nation it had once been.

Too much was expected of his meet-It was, in any case, the largest food ing with the British Prime Minister in importer among the none and obliged to any case. Herr Schmidt sees eye to eye buy its food where it sold its industrial goods, mostly outside the EEC.

This meant that Whitehall had to pay extremely high levies on agricultural imports from non-EEC countries, with the result that Britain has suddenly emerged as the paymaster of Europe.

Britain does not have only itself to blame. It is up against it, and by the terms of its accession treaty is entitled to assistance from other EEC countries.

Not even the French deny that Britain needs a helping hand. Unlike Jac-

already suggested that Britain be relegated to the status of an associate EEC clination to consider a package deal of member, M. Giscard d'Estaing cannot be interested in a crisis that would jeopard-

ise the Community's survival. He is keen to establish himself in Africa and the Middle East as an EEC leader independent of the United States. and for this purpose he needs to retain a largely intact Common Market.

As far as he is concerned the dispute with Whitehall is merely horse-trading. and that in an election year!

The French President is prepared to allow Britain some discount on its high membership dues but in return Britain must reduce the price of North Sea oil, increase the price of Canterbury lamb



to Britain for talks at Chequers. Foreign Ministers Lord Carrington and Hans-Dietrich Genscher are seen behind their respective leaders, who discussed

this kind. Her mistake, if such it it, has been not to regard the present crisis as one of the many with which the EEC has come to terms. Instead she insists on coming to the heart of the matter. It is not merely a matter of whether or not Britain can af-

ISSN 0016-8858

ford to pay the price of membership; she has called the EEC's entire agricultural policy into question. CAP indeed accounts for the lion's share of the Common Market's budget. Britain's contribution towards the EEC budget is a minor matter, or certainly will be if the Nine continue to meet the

farmers' demands. If the cost of the farm budget continues to increase at its present rate the EEC will be bankrupt either this year or. at the latest, next year. The Nine as a whole can no longer afford to pay the

Helmut Schmidt may agree with Mrs Thatcher that financing EEC farm surpluses is absurd, but he is unable to help her.

She too must realise that Common Market agricultural policies cannot be set right over night. Their solution will probably take the form of a compromise such as a higher payout by the EEC social and regional funds.

As the main contributor to these in favour of thrift, and the role of mediator was to have been played by Italian Premier Francesco Cossiga.

Mrs Thatcher has promised British taxpayers to arrive at a swift solution to the burden imposed by EEC levies, so she can but hope that the other sick man of Europe, Italy, regains his form and succeeds in lending the promised hand. Dieter Schröder

(Suddentsche Zellung, 26 March 1980)

### Fear keeps children silent, say researchers

Institute for Youth, Market and Opinion Research and commissioned by the German Shell Company last year. A total of 1,235 people aged between

17 and 29 and living in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin were interviewed. Though 54 per cent said they were convinved of the usefulness of freedom

of opinion, 43 per cent said: "I don't think it wise to say what one thinks, be it at school or on the job, due to the disadvantages this can bring." Compared with a similar Shell study

in 1973, the young people last year tended to be more conservative or re-Sociologist Detlef Riemer of Coburg.

author of the study, said that the "frequent criticism of the system" that marked the 1973 polls was now no longer pronounced and that this was a disquieting fact.

Every other interviewe is afraid now that a frank answer will "rub somebody the wrong way."

As a result, Herr Riemer fears that half of our young generation is well on parents. This diminished to 49 per cent

its way to becoming "yes men". In fact, the potential leadership group, consisting of university students and highschool graduates, is perhaps even more

resigned in its attitude than the rest. At the top of the young people's expectations for their future life ranks personal freedom (85 per cent) followed by a satisfying career (80 per cent) and free

choice of a job (67 per cent). The most important elements in cent), social recognition (50 per cent) and a good career (40 per cent).

Growing environment consciousness is borne out by the fact that this is seen as particularly important by 64 per cent (70 per cent among the potential leader-

ship group). Though striving for professional performance has not changed since 1973. needs have diminished.

In 1973, 67 per cent wanted to be economically better off than their

to 45 per cent.

Six per cent were put off by "their parents' striving for profit" and were well on their way to embracing an "anticonsumerism ideology".

Job problems - above all the youth unemployment which was unimportant in 1973 - were particularly pronounced in 1979. One in 20 considers his job in

Eighty three per cent see the trade unions as a pillar of our economic system. The same percentage approves of the right to strike.

The image of the entrepreneur improved since 1973; 90 per cent saw him as profit oriented, 78 per cent as energetic and 61 per cent as authoritarian, 25 socially responsible and 23 per cent as honest.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 March 1980)

### IN THIS ISSUE WORLD AFFAIRS Changes in the role of Berlin as a barometer of detente

THE LAW New definition sought on vexed guestion of 'lockouts'

Jostling for advantage follows Gatt talks

Nineteenth Year - No. 935 - By air

Common Market is due to cost White-

hall this year, Bonn Chancellor Helmut

Schmidt feels after talks with Mrs

Thatcher at Chequers. Something must

certainly be done about the EEC's

hreatens to bankrupt not only Britain

but the European Community as a

But Herr Schmidt is most unlikely to

The Chancellor's fireside chat with

Mrs Thatcher at Chequers was bound to

be a chilly affair, especially as cancella-

tion of the Common Market summit

put paid to any sense of urgency.

Portraying the pain in differing ways

Page 13 PHILOSOPHY Reflections on Marx, Ioneliness, iliness and 'the slide to disaster'

The children will be taught to for Germany. itries. Britain has aiways

children will be taught four language Britain had hoped to loosen the close apart from religion, sport, art and medical between France and Germany, but apart from religion, sport, art and me lies between France and Germany, but In addition, professors of the British these hopes have never really been ful-wick Technical University and are filled.

Will be on hand to provide instruction and state of the second state

in favourite subjects.

The Brunswick project is entirely accounts for its current problems. Had it territory for this country. Britain, Figst been in on the venture from the outset the United States and the Soviet Unit



**Apel meets Hosoda** 

Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel began his two-day visit to Japan by conferring with Japanesa Defence Minister Kichtzo Hosoda in Tokyo. In reviewing international affairs they dealt especially with the possibility of stepping up defence expenditure.

No matter how understandable their

tears, they made it amply clear that they

had lost the ability to respect the views

The final clash came when the pass-

ages dealing with economic and social

affairs were imbued with leftist ideas

and garnished with demands of which

Gruhl and some others said that they re-

flected the materialistic ideas of the es-

tablished parties.

# Changes in the role of Berlin as a barometer of detente

F or years we have been told that Ber-lin is a touchstone of detente and developments in and around the city are a pointer to the current state of East-West fies.

Berlin, the argument runs, is like a barometer on which a rise or fall in pressure can be read off.

For some time, since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there has been an international crisis that could well gain

Yet there has been no change in the situation in and around Berlin as laid down in the 1971 Four-Power agreement. Ties between the two German states have also, superficially at least, yet to be affected by the trend in world af-

So is it, perhaps, no longer true to say

that Berlin is a test case of detente? First, the view on which this concept was based was, if not egocentric, then at least Eurocentric. Detente was viewed mainly as a European phenomenon, from which it logically followed that relations on the border between East and West in Europe were a yardstick of world affairs.

By this token the Cold War appeared to have been an exclusively European affair: a clash between the great powers on European territory.

The Gaullist era in France, which was particularly given to this Eurocentric view, evidently made a greater mark on the general view of world affairs than was commonly assumed to be the case.

Prior to the Gaullist era the emergence of the Federal Republic of Germany was known to have been fostered by the Soviet challenge the Berlin

blockade unquestionably represented. But the subsequent rearmament of Germany, for instance, was known to have been a result of the shock waves emitted by the Korean War in the early

So the Cold War was by no means an exclusively European phenomenon, it was commonly agreed.

Mistaken identification of peace and quiet in Berlin with peace and quiet in world affairs in general was a complete misunderstanding of Soviet interests.

Bonn's new Ostpolitik, pursued by Willy Brandt as Foreign Minister and Chancellor, did not, for that matter, take place in a vacuum in world affairs.

.It was a response to an improvement in relations between the great powers. It entailed satisfying the Soviet desire for recognition of the status quo in Europe in return for an improvement in and around Berlin and in ties between the two German states.

The Soviet Union agreed to pay the price because the deal legalised its position in Central Europe without foreclosing on Soviet diplomatic options for the future.

Temporary peace and quiet in Central Europe, where unliateral moves always entailed a substantial risk, provided them with an opportunity of paying political and military attention to other parts of the world.

In other words, the Federal Republic was not alone in gaining greater leeway The WEU, a defence pact to which all as a result of the relaxation of tension in EEC countries except ireland and De-Central Europe, a fact Bonn never tired nmark belong, sees the Lomé convenof emphasising: the Soviet Union also tion as the key to safeguarding European. benefited from greater leeway.

interest to maintain the situation in Berlin and the state of ties between the two German states, especially when Moscow s steering a confrontation course else-

The Soviet Union has always been quick to switch theatres in its conduct of foreign affairs. It has always been ready to reconcile tension in one part of the world with detente in another - always providing it was in the Soviet interest to do so.

Regardless of the Vietnam war between the United States and a Soviet ally the Kremlin saw fit to conclude the first Salt agreement with President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger.

While seeming to promote detente in Europe by means of the Helsinki conference in the interest of which the United States was accepted as a party to European security, the Kremlin had no compunction in exploiting each and every sign of US weakness in other parts of the world.

Even before Afghanistan this interplay of tension and detente had made the prospects of ratification of Sait 2 by the US Senate steadily more doubtful.

The Salt debate brought to light an extremely interesting fact as far as Moscow was concerned. While US opinion felt increasingly challenged and insecure as a result of the Soviet conduct of world affairs, Europe was evidently interested in keeping up detente at all

Thus the Europeans brought pressure

oviet and Cuban influence in Africa

Dremains strictly limited despite the

troops and economic advisers they have

There are roughly 41,000 East bloc

troops in Africa. Two Soviet generals

were recently killed in action in Eritrea

stationed in 23 African states, according

News items such as these are relayed

with increasing frequency and deserve

So it is hardly surprising that the Eu-

ropean Community and Nato are paying

If the Soviet Union were to gain a

permanent foothold in Africa it could

south and cut it off economically from

its life's blood; raw materials in general

The Parliamentary Assembly of the

Western European Union (WEU) com-

missioned a newly-published report on

The Role of Africa in European Security

greater attention to Africa.

and oil in particular.

ationed around the continent.

and flown home to Moscow.

to another report.

to the south.

Thus it may well be in the Soviet to bear on the US Senate to ratify Salt 2 whatever happened.

The Soviet Union has taken good care to bear this fact in mind in its handling of the Afghanistan crisis to date. It has left the situation in and around Berlin and in Central Europe unchanged for the time being because otherwise Europe and the United States would close ranks.

It is in the Soviet interest to ensure that the US intention of handling the crisis brought about by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan grows increasingly at odds with the European intention of holding to detente at all costs.

Moscow openly claims that detente cannot be reconciled with participation in what it dubs the US policy of adven-

Bonn, as its entire approach to the Afghanistan crisis has shown, early realised the complexity of the situation and chose neither to accept the one view nor to reject the other.

The West German government has sought to skirt the issue by showing itself on the one hand to be a reliably partner of the United States while on the other trying to create the impression that it was using its influence on the United States to urge restraint on Afg-

The Soviet Union was to continue to feel that the Bonn government appreciated Moscow's interests even though, in its own security interest, it might not, in the final analysis, have any choice but to side with the United States.

This was, and continues to be, an extremely dangerous tight-rope walk. It

has resulted in a slight gap open between Bonn and Washington in HOME AFFAIRS. cond instalment in the price he had to pay for its treaties with hi bloc and continued Soviet good me in their connection.

This tight-rope act is not only mely difficult to keep up; it wh increasingly difficult as the Afela

crisis assumes permanent propode The Soviet Union has show a ugust Haussleiter has been elected interest in the European proposition of Afghanistan in a Greens, the environmentalist party. nation with a Soviet troop pull-on. The choice was made at the national

nistan indispensable.

put, which relegates to minor is nately, the public has found his concotance the questions what might tions unpalatable. the Soviet occupation assuming pa Community as he did for his National nent proportions.

in stability in the Middle East u is gess.

term, albeit only indirectly.

Then it will be clear whether loss with Bonn as a mere means of land the Federal Republic under control

The Kremlin is already trying to press on Bonn that Moscow, and Warpeace and quiet in and around & (which is simply not true).

### **EEC** gains ground

in Africa A further 37,000 technicians and en-Pacific countries that signed the Lomé gineers from the socialist countries are

pact with the EEC Nine. The aim must be to lend Africa an economic and financial helping hand in establishing functioning economies, creating prosperity and ensuring domestic

attention inasmuch as Africa is Europe's Conflict and rivalry between African next-door neighbour as a continent. states and tribes must be settled as a By virtue of jet-propelled air travel crucial prerequisite ensuring that the Africa is nowadays only a few hours Soviet Union has no pretext for mainaway from Western Europe, which has a taining a full-scale military and political vital interest in ties with its neighbour presence in Africa.

Nearly 80,000 communist troops and economic advisers are already based in Africa. In Libya a Soviet general is in charge of operations designed to foster unrest systematically in Central Africa.

Sudan, a country 10 times the size of the recent kepublic and bonn's most development aid partner in Africa, is talking in terms of a Soviet invasion in connection with the war between Marxist Ethiopia and the Eritrean Libe-

ration Front. Sudan, already a bitterly poor country, has nearly half a million refugees from Eritrea. Yet President Numeiri succeeded in the early 70s in putting paid to Soviet infiltration.

Sudan's case is typical of various attempts to establish communist influence interests in the 58 Africa, Caribbean and ... in Africa. Guinea is another instance, ...

When Guinea gained independent colonial mother country, France, in sought Soviet friendship.

known Soviet fellow-traveller in Wa Africa. Yet two years ago he slot began to steer a new course.

In Conakry, the capital of Guinea sibility for development aid, that Loc class suit and tie.

investment in the ACP countries.

Africa, he said, needed private in the corners.

The whole thing appear

taken a step in this direction with blessing of Guinea's M. Sekou Tours Continued on page 6

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-Achies of Heinz Editor: Alexander Anthony, English lands the established parties and yet the Heinz Editor: Alexander Anthony, English lands the established parties and yet the establis

dvertising rates list No. 13 -

All ericles which the GERMAN TRIBUNE repress of Framme, found himself virtually without published in cooperation with the editorial state tollowing when only a couple of hands leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of the cooperation with the editorial state tollowing when only a couple of hands ny. They are complete translations of the construction was abridged not editorially recentled the behalf were raised to vote with him for the column translations of the construction raised to vote with him for the resturing raised raised to vote with him for the resturing raised raised raised to vote with him for the

their political culture is as unimpeach-

## Top Green Party man from the right wing

Indeed, Moscow regards the m congress of the party in Saarbrücken. as part of the intervention in Haussleiter is an old acquaintance made Soviet military presence in a from many political kitchens in which has cooked up all kinds of stews, fol-The Soviet troops seem set to lowing hastily devised recipes. Unfortu-

motivated the Soviet invasion and He left the CSU after a fierce dispute, might this motive be satisfied in and found as few takers for his German

The actual changes thus come in dependent Germans.

Now, he finds himself at the top of fore. The main considerations at the Greens, although they have vowed to the strategic options the Soviet in the Greens, although they have vowed to the strategic options the Soviet is exercise grassroots demoracy and abide has gained in the Middle East as a soft of the occupation of Afghanisms. Though Herr of the rotantial threat their representations of the rotantial threat their representations. the potential threat they represent Haussleiter tried to hide his tribing, there was no overlooking it at the con-

consistent and as contradictory. Consist-So Bonn will be increasingly the consistent and as contradictory. in the event of a crisis that would so tory because his election seems like a bit to threaten Germany too in the ba of sleight of hand and wrong labelling. A man who, notwithstanding escapades, has always been on the right is suddenly intended its policy of coming to its made the figurehead of a group that began as an ecological movement and ha now become a leftist-socialist protest

This being so, it is hard no to think cow alone, is responsible for matter of tactical ruses intended to keep the genuine ecologists in line, i. e. the follosimply not true).

Wers of Herbert Gruhl and Baldur (Der Tagesspiegel, 23 Machill<sup>®</sup> Springmann, whose objective is to prereve ecological aims regardless of left or right. Or was it all just a coincidence?

The turnultous Saarbrücken congress the late 50s it parted company with with all its conflicts makes the latter ather likely.

it was chaos, complete with storming President Sekou Touré was a st. of the rostrum and speakers who refused la yield the microphone and scores of protests and procedural debates amid group dancing and a screaming urban In Conskry, the capital of Guines, some of environmentalists. The 800 de-Sekou Touré told Claude Cheyson, be legates' dress ranged from the typical French EEC commissioner with respectively.

2 must definitely include a clause Amid all this, there were playing chilranteeing the safety of European part dren, and rucksacks and sleeping bags

Africa, he said, needed private in the whole thing appeared as casual as ment by Western Europe in order many Greens wanted it so that their cary out its economic development, rogramme of starting from scratch. The Lomé convention has all subscriptions of starting from scratch

But in retrospect it all seems dream-

Passages proposed by the Programme mmission on Foreign and Peace Poli-The German Tribune 9, originally showing a certain restraint

They range from unilateral disarms ment via the abolishment of the military blocs all the way to the disbandment of in his Bundeswehr.

The former CDU MP Herbert Gruhl, who was the author of the original pro-

Then came the debate where

able as they have always claimed. Their protective of the minorities.

legislation where two aims of the Greens clash. On the one hand, they want full self-determination for women, i.e. the abolishment of all abortion legislation, and, on the other, they want to protect human life.

ty - if not the majority - was determined to bring about free abortion for all. The compromise finally adopted would not have been possible had the spectre of a split not arisen.

tially saying that abortion cannot be a matter of legal persecution. If words still have any meaning at all, this can only boil down to free abortion.

solve'a conflict that has so long troubled the established parties.

It was also depressing, to see young woman delegates cry when the compromise motion was passed because they had demanded the total abolition of

policy is to be one without violence and

And when they finally called for a breakup of mammoth concerns into small units that would be run democra-There is, for instance, our abortion tically and the introduction of the 35hour week on 49-hour pay, the programme was turned inside out and Gruhl made it clear that he could no longer go along. It would be an inadequate explanation

It soon turned out that a large minorito say that all this has been engineered by the Communist groups who would summoned by osmosis, so to speak, But it is a poor compromise, essenfrom the leftist groups and the broad mass of young delegates who predominated in Saarbrücken - unlike in previ-

Nobody expected the Greens to re-

But the crude dogmatism of the debate was irritating.

The line of argument that essentially boiled down to the contention that nascent life is not all that worthy of protection after all compared with the self-determination of women was embarrassing and deeply depressing.

the big danger lies with Schmidt, the proponent of nuclear energy. Because of such extreme naivety it is unlikely that anybody will be able to sway them from this position.

The argument that Gruhl's rejection of their thesis could cost them the fa-

He was one of the founders of the

CSU and was elected that party's deputy

chairman in 1948. But only a year later

he found himself at loggerheads with

Since then, he has been an untiring

founder of parties and action groups on

the extreme periphery of the right wing

and in the no-man's-land of special po-

The son of a Nuremberg clergyman,

he was a protagonist of Gustav Strese-

mann's liberal-conservative policy during

the Welmar era. As editor of Frankischer

Kurier, he opposed the Nazis and even

tackled the powerful Gauleiter Julius

His book An der mittleren Ostfront

(on the central East front) in which he

describes his war experience earned him

the accusation of defeatism during the

Nazi era. Paradoxically, after the war he

was put on trial for glorifying milita-

Since 1953 he has been trying to use

his umbrella Organisation for National

a springboard to the Bundestag. In vain.

In 1965 he joined the Action Com-

munity of Independent Germans (AUD)

which dubs itself the "German opposi-

It was easy for the Franconian non-

conformist to take the step from the

AUD to the Greens, having for some time sought a tie with "anti-authoritari-

an" leftist groups. Franz Wauschkulin

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 26 March 1980)

tion par excellence".

Rallying and the German Community

ous meetings, where many delegates

were middle-aged or older people. A

change has obviously taken place at

Most of these young people don't diffe-

rentiate at all between Helmut Schmidt

and Franz Josef Strauss. And when told

that they might only be helping Strauss

come to power they seriously argue that

grassroots level.

### Environmentalist known for rhetorical speeches one of the most brilliant nonconformists

of the right.

the party.

litical groups.



August Haussleiter

he rhetoric talent of August Haussleiter, 75, is considerable. He has always captured audiences with unbridled speeches and brutal slogans.

of the CSU and now a member of the executive board of the Greens (environmentalists) accused the then Chancellor, Ludwig Ethard, of being "stuck

He also called Franz Josef Strauss lay strategist dreaming of an authoritatian state along the lines of dictator Salazar's Portugal. About himself he said that he was a "staunch enemy of the Western powers."

For decades, Haussleiter was regarded

like to float in the wake of the Greens. They alone could not have achieved such majorities. But majorities were

Setback not the end of the road

Herbert Gruhl

· (Photos:Sven Simon)

DIE WELT

hose who watched Herbert Gruhl on TV as he announced that he would not run for the executive board of the Greens could easily have had the impression that he was beaten man.

But that would be underestimating Herbert Gruhl. After all, the former CDU politician and Bundestag member. whom many considered the embodiment of a new type of middle-class politician. could hardly have been surprised at the

Everything, from the dispropriation of mammoth corporations via the demand for unilateral Western disarmament all the way to the call for a 35-hour week at 40-hour pay, has been part of previ-

ous party demands. Gruhl knew very well that all this had nothing to do with ecology and that it was indeed the opposite of it because it would require strong economic growth

to be implemented. At that time he beseeched the Greens to write to him along these lines. He hoped that a tide of letters from kindred spirits would help him prevail.

This was naturally illusory. Modern democracy is subject to the dictatorship of microphones and prefabricated slogans, to defamation and personal insults. In short, it is subject to different laws.

But Gruhl has not yet given up. His renunciation of a seat on the executive board and his having distanced himself from a part of the programme is probably his last attempt to prevent the Greens from swinging towards Marxism.

Gruhl, a farmer's son, is much more important to those likely to vote Green than the Saarbrücken congress tried to

make believe. His book Ein Planet wird geplünder .(plunder of planet) which was published in 1975 was for many people the first encounter with a departure from civiliza-

tion's wrong ways.

It would be wrong to believe that a man of letters like Gruhl is too unrealistic to stand his ground in the catch-as-

catch-can turmoil of a new party.

Hundreds of people told him in 1978, when he left the CDU, that exactly this would happen, He is still trying to prove them wrong, Joachim Neander

10 10 1 10 1 10 9 1/19 12 (Die Welt, 25 Merch 1980)



### M THE LAW

## New definition sought on vexed question of 'lockouts'

Lockouts are one option open to employers when unions hold strikes, especially selective strikes in individual areas or at individual firms designed to cut strike fund costs. The employers may then retailate by a lockout in factories that are not on strike. So far only Hesse has sought to regulate the legality and constitutionality of at lockout. Article 9 of the 1 December 1946 Hesse constitution states: "The right to strike is recognised. Lockouts are illegal." The Federal Labour Court, on the other hand, ruled in 1971 that subject to relativity both strikes by employees and lockouts by employers were permissible. The Kassel court is now in session on an appeal aimed at reversing this decision.

F or decades law students were taught, and case law worked on the assumption, that strikes and lockouts were equally legitimate forms of industrial dispute, both covered by constitutional guarantees of freedom of association.

Nowadays, however, employers occasionally resort to mass lockouts that are a far cry from individual disputes of old, and the trade unions are not amused.

The unions dispute the validity of the time-honoured assumption and have reacted to mass lockouts by carpet litigation, as it were, bombarding the employers with labour tribunal proceedings.

Their aim is to persuade the courts to rule lockouts constitutionally illegal, or so they claim. In fact they cannot genuinely expect the Federal Labour Court to completely revise its past viewpoint and declare lockouts illegal.

They probably hope to arrive at a binding court ruling on the nature and extent of lockouts as a valid means of conducting industrial disputes.

The unions' bid to get the high court to make a clear definition of when a lockout is legal was prompted by the countrywide lockout in the newspaper industry in the wake of the 1978 strike by printworkers.

At the hearing before the Federal Labour Court in Kassel the two sides trundled out time-honoured arguments. so the bench is unlikely to have learnt anything new from what counsel for the employers and the trade unions had to say.

The only striking feature of their arguments was the degree to which both

### Top Green man

your of the middle class which alone can help them take the 5 per cent election hurdle leaves them as unimpressed as Springmann's appeal to stick to their ecological last.

Of course, they still want Gruhl and Springmann among their ranks, but if a split should prove impossible to avert they are prepared to accept if

These young people are left cold by the fact that their dogmatism could harm their ecological cause. What matters is only the universe they have just devised on paper.

They are determined to embark on their for a sunny state, a crusade against our egotistical, materialistic and affluent society, come what may.

It seems as if the Greens wrote their own obituary in Saarbrücken.

Carl-Christian Kaiser (Die Zeit, 28 March 1980)

arguing their cases in terms of Christian social teachings, alleged common law and even public opinion.

Statute and case law evidently did not prove very helpful in their search for arguments to support their respective

This is hardly surprising. Where industrial disputes are concerned the law has kept very much to itself, leaving almost everything to be decided by the two sides of industry on their own.

Gerhard Müller, chief justice of the Federal Labour Court, put it in much more drastic terms in Kassel, Bonn, he said, had left the courts sadly in the lurch.

No-one is denying the Bundestag's right to give legal definition to methods of industrial dispute, limiting them if need be to prevent misuse. This parliamentary right is undisputed

providing the Bundestag does not interfere in the freedom of unions and employers to negotiate wage agreements. Indeed, all MPs must definitely do is

observe strict neutrality, taking good care to ensure that neither side in an industrial dispute is put to either advantage or disadvantage.

The Bundestag may soon be left with not much choice but to legislate on this issue, better late than never, as it were. Chief Justice Müller indicated at the hearing that the Grand Senate division

Deople in West Germany are now le-

deskriminalamt for details of the records

on them in a current total of 31 police

Details of this right are included in

regulations on Bundeskriminalamt files

newly drafted by the Bonn Interior Min-

parliamentary under-secretary at the

"Mistrust can only be reduced by the

greatest possible degree of transparen-

Applications for photostats or a com-

puter printout of one's files may be

submitted in writing to the Bundeskri-

minalamt in Wiesbaden. As yet they are

The Länder, or Federal states, supply

most of the facts on file, and the new

regulations, which are scheduled to

come into force this summer, were dis-

Herr von Schoeler was not expecting

fundamental differences of opinion to

arise at the talks between Bonn and the

Länder, and as for the Bundeskrimina-

lamt, its head, Horst Herold, had agreed

to the regulations "right down to the

• How files are set up: In the past files

have usually been set up as a result of

decisions by working parties of the

The obvious drawback of this proce-

dure is that such committees and their

findings, recommendations and deci-

sions are not subject to parliamentary

In future the head of the Bundeskri-

Standing Conference of Federal and

This is what they envisage:-

State Interior Ministers.

cussed with them on 25 March.

Ministry of the Interior.

handled free of charge.

last detail."

gally entitled to apply to the Bun-

sides chose to fight in minor theatres, of the Federal Labour Court might be forced to take action.

This would in all probability mean that the court would insist on the Bundestag making a ruling on the legal definition and status of the lockout.

This would certainly be the most satisfactory solution. All Labour Court judges are sooner or later overtaxed when called on to give rulings on issues where there are next to no legal guidelines on which to base a judgment.

Where lockouts, for instance, are concerned tribunals can base their judgments solely on antiquated case law that at least in part can no longer be appropriate now methods of industrial dispute have changed.

There are possibilities of legislating a solution to the lockout problem without banning lockouts altogether (a ban would probably not stand up if employers were to appeal to the Constitu-

The Bundestag could, for instance, rule that strikes and lockouts may only serve the purpose of getting the two sides back round the negotiating table.

Logically a countrywide lockout would then be illegal, since its aim would clearly be to reduce the trade unions to penury. The same would be true of selective strikes aimed at ruining one or more companies.

Parliament could also rule that a lock-

out does not automatically THE EEC dismissal. During a lockout of THE EEC status would merely be shelf

As a rule it is already confirm pended rather than ended, but to exceptions in which dismissed are deemed to have been served

Bonn could also deal in greate with the principle of relativity, forms the basis of many ruling bour tribunals.

This would then prevent them original mode of dispute.

tial strike by the unions.

association or not.

liamentary Council began to discal spart at the seams. This Frankfurter problem of lockouts but later days Rundschau article outlines how the EMS

amendment to Basic Law.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 Mehlik

### Criminal files are to be thrown open

minalamt will issue a decree in conjun-"The police need to be able to rely on the confidence of the general public in tion with the Interior Ministers in Bonn their work," says Andreas von Schoeler, and the Länder.

This published declaration of intent will include the legal justification, the purpose of the file, the category of people on whom files are to be kept, the kind of records to be kept and regulations governing access to information on file and when records may be wholly or

partially scrapped. The head of the Bundeskriminalamt will also stipulate from the start whether information is to be supplied to applicants, and if it is, how, when and sublect to what conditions.

· How information is to be divulged: "In the past information was not, as a rule, divulged," says Herr von Schoeler. "In future it will, as a rule, be divulged, expect for a limited number of cases."

Kurt Fritz, the Ministry official responsible for matters concerning the Bundeskriminalamt, reckons about 80 per cent of files will definitely available for enquirles.

"In the espionage sector, of course, information will have to be supplied more sparingly," he adds.

Suppliers of information, as a rule the state police authorities, will, however, be able to stipulate that certain items of information may not be divulged to the individual.

If there turns out to be a flood of enquiries addressed to the Bundeskriminalamt extra staff will be hired. "The FBI

has an enquiry office of its owner'

facts about him are on file.

file for more than 12 months.

electricity board clients whose data & Norway.

Many documents reported lost at stability within Europe.

to other files is to scrapped. Author boost the reputation of the French and who request information from a file. West German leaders.

· When records are to be desire) fenders.

Take, for instance, the files on the employment and a reduction in regional guerrillas set up during the search dispanties.

The employment and a reduction in regional guerrillas set up during the search dispanties.

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The employment and a reduction in regional guerrillas set up during the search dispanties.

The employment and a reduction in regional guerrillas set up during the search dispanties. have now been destroyed.

# Arguments go on as EMS ends its first year

The European Monetary System, aged one, is in an unusual position. This latest brainchild of European integration has come in for fulsome birthday praise from from countering moves by the come in for tursoned it, yet they are with methods out of all relation; the politicians who sired it, yet they are with methods out of all relation; far from convinced it will have learnt to walk, let alone run, by the age of two. Employers would, for instant Changellor Schmidt and President prohibited by law from impo Giscard d'Estaing have already agreed not countrywide lockout in answer by to sign on the dotted line and finally astablish the EMS next March. Even if Legal uncertainty in respect of outs is attributable, in the final at to the Parliamentary Council that and and endorsed Rasic Law is at further trial period. Herr Schmidt and M. ed and endorsed Basic Law in the Glacerd d'Estaing have no wish to take major political decisions before their If the men and women who der respective general elections, and the EMS the 1949 Bonn constitution half in its present form does not exactly mentioned strikes and lockouts by a represent a temptation to go firm. The declaring both to enjoy constitute guarantees as valid modes of indeed dispute, the courts would not now dispute, the courts would not now as a swarp of the risks that could lie ahead. to rule on whether the lockout is larger of the risks that could lie ahead. ranteed by the constitutional free member-countries are on the increase and exchange rate tansion could mount to But the minutes show that the the point at which the EMS could come

Yet a simple Act of Parliament Pa It all began with the Snake, so called by the Bundestag would be sufficient I because member-countries (11 initialsettle the Issue. There is no need for will linked their currencies against each other but floated collectively against the allog dollar and other currencies.

works and what risks it runs.

But collective floating, launched in 1972, did not last long. The 1973 oil crisis sent the Snake slithering. Oil price increases imposed a crippling burden.

More especially, the differences in efdividual: In certain circumstance feet they had on the balance of trade Bundeskriminalamt is under legal et and the rate of inflation in membergation to inform the individual to countries proved a severe strain on the

This applies to people who at a Financial transactions, no matter how the subject of police enquiries the Substantial, failed to succeed in stabilisselves and whose data have been ting exchange rates. Britain and Italy were forced to quit the Snake. They They would, for instance, indicated to quit the Shake. They

checked not long ago in the starth in 1978 Chancellor Schmidt and President Giscard d'Estaing went back to If you lose your passport you will the drawing board. The European Mon-be filed and later informed of the stary System was planned as a "zone of

The EMS was to further the cause of • Access: Unlimited civil service of European integration and, no doubt, to

by another authority will in future? They made fine-sounding statements to provide proof of their identity! in plenty, but the EMS's labour pains justification, with spot checks be the greater than their fine words seemof to suggest.

Surprisingly, the EEC's Common As a rule entries will be scrapped a gicultural Market proved an obstacle.

10 years, if not earlier Exceptions I he EMS did not get off the ground unonly be allowed in cases such as the line Agriculture Ministers of the Nine of dangerous miscreants, such as set leached a compromise on 13 March

The Bundeskriminalamt has sel 4 Herr Schmidt sees the EMS as "a fundepartment specially to supervise the demental element in a more comprestruction of data. A number of red hensive concept almed at lasting growth serviction of data. A number and stable prices, a gradual return to full

dsm, especially in the system's parly stroyed.

Horst Zimmernand stages. Most critics of fixed exchange (Hamburger Absorblett, 22 March in lates found it too monetaristic.



True enough, the EMS's promoters framed their objectives in money terms. Harmonisation of monetary policy was to level out differences in economic

It was even to make possible a strengthening of regions where per capita income was still way below the EEC average, this being what the reduction in regional disparities meant.

A Heidelberg pep group, the Social Free-Market Economy Working Party, is a leading member of the EMS rejectionist front. It argues that exchange rate policies cannot bring about convergence in economic and cyclical policies of the countries concerned.

The free trade lobby reckons it is pointless to begin with exchange rates rather than with domestic financial stability, by which the money and cyclical policies of each individual country are

These critics claim flexible exchange rates will continue to be appropriate until such time as countries have come so close together that rates remain stable

This was indeed a sore point, although it had not altogether been overlooked by the founding fathers of the EMS.

Member-governments were required to give solemn assurances that they would coordinate domestic money measures and fight inflation by all the means at their command.

The summer 1978 EEC summit put it briefly. Closer monetary cooperation could only prove successful "provided member-countries pursued policies leading to greater stability both at home and

This declaration, however, is as far as they got. It has been left to good will and the staying power of Finance Ministers to ensure that the EMS stands a chance of genuinely emerging as a community of stability.

What has it achieved in its first year's In technical terms it has worked well. With the aid of computers problems of calculation were kent more or less under control from the start.

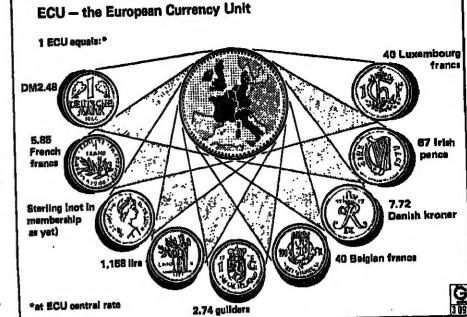
The early warning indicator (see chart) led in most instances to market intervention, and when exchange rate diver-

### ECU membership and share of currency basket

Country

The ECU, or European Currency Unit, is made up of a basket of currencies, the currencies of the nine member-countries

١		stake in E	CU	rates	
	Germany France Holland	33,4 19,7 10,4 9,6	٠	DM2,48 Fr6.86 F12.75 Fr39.79	
	Beiglum Italy Denmark Ireland Britein	9.4 2.8 1.1 13,5		L1,157.79 Kr7.72 67p	
		1	i		



gences proved too great, ECU central rates were amended. In September 1979 the deutschemark

was revalued by one per cent against the ECU and the other currencies devalued one per cent, while the Danish krone was devalued a further three per cent. In November the krone was devalued.

by 4.75 per cent more. Inflation rates (see chart) indicate that hopes on this score have not been fulfilled. They have not only increased;

disparities are growing ever wider. Oil-based Inflation is mainly to biame, not the EMS itself, but the EMS has proved unable to halt the trend even though member-countries have succeeded in harmonising their stability policies in one respect.

Everywhere bank rates have been increased, which is taken as an earnest of member-countries' determination to

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer somewhat euphorically concludes in Bonn that "official and private-sector increases in interest rates are due first and foremost to stability policy constraints imposed by the EMS."

Professor Glastetter, a trade union member of the Economic Advisory Council to the Bonn government (a body usually dubbed the "Five Wise Men"), disagrees.

He takes a much more cautious view of whether interest rates geared to stability were necessarily a result of countries taking part in the European Monetary

It was "quite possible that most EMS countries would have pursued stability policies even if the system had not been existence, but at least it promotes such steps more than it prevents them."

The three exchange rate adjustments superficially appeared to run smoothly, but in reality they subjected the EMS to severe strain,

More than DM10bn had to be poured into money markets in intervention to support exchange rates before they were eventually revised.

Countries that devalued wanted to forestall for as long as possible the detrimental effect of exchange rate realignment: inflationary increases in the price of imports.

Inflation has meanwhile proved to be by no means the sole cause of exchange rate trends. The Italian lira is in a fairly sound position in terms of divergence from the ECU central rate even though Italy's inflation rate is highest.

This is reckoned to be due to Italy's substantial foreign trade surplus last year, which in its turn was due to successive devaluations of the lira in the

Roughly the same is true of the French franc, whereas the deutschemark has been successively revalued, with the result that German exports are less competitive and Bonn has a current account deficit.

Alexandre Lamfalussy of the Bank for International Settlements is in no doubt, however, that in the long term inflation rates determine the relative strength of currencies.

National monetary policy-makers largely agree too. Approximation of inflation rates, taking the lowest as the target, is considered a fundamental prerequisite for the EMS's survival.

This is the quarter from which the system continues to be in the most serious danger. The stronger dollar will soon

### Inflation rates and percentage change from ECU central rate Percentage change from ECU central 1979 average 5.0 12.9 +34 6.5 +24 6.0 -60 20.7 -18 12.8 -35 15.0 -29 15.0 18.4 eat current value

make its presence felt in import bills as a whole, especially oil bills, pushing prices even further up.

Interest rates, on the other hand, are likely to crumble at the first sign of economic weakness.

Common Market countries with a relatively high unemployment rate, such as Italy, that maintain high interest rates will then be obliged to reflate their economies, which will call for lower bank

This could well make differences in inflation rates even wider, while fixed exchange rates heighten the risk of imported inflation.

If this is the course events take, bank rates could well require more frequent and more drastic revision.

The amounts of money pumped into money markets in support of EMS exchange rates, on the other hand, may make it increasingly difficult for central banks to pursue money policies aimed at

stability both at home and abroad. If, for instance, neither inflationary currencles are devalued nor sufficient intervention funds pumped into the mark-et, countries with relatively high inflation rates might be forced to quit the EMS.

So the crunch has yet to come, and Continued on page 7

# Jostling for advantage follows Gatt talks

No sooner had the Tokyo Round of Gatt been signed, than the world's two largest trading partners, the United States and the European Community, went on the warpath.

Protectionists on both sides of the Atlantic have closed ranks and are bombarding their governments with demands for protection against allegedly unfair competition.

This round of Gatt was to liberalise trade terms and try to make them fairer.

The European Community was the first to deal a blow to the United States when the Brussels EEC Commission in late February yielded to British complaints about unjustified cost advantages of American producers of man-made fibres and permitted Britain to impose restrictions on the import of some of these goods.

The Americans have not yet retaliated: but Reubin Askew, President Carter's special trade envoy, left no doubt during his recent visit to Brussels that

### **EEC** in Africa

Continued from page 2

alleged Communist. Soviet warships still occasionally visit his country's ports but President Sekou Touré is no longer a colour-blind Soviet fellow-traveller, the EEC Commission in Brussels claims.

M. Cheysson says the late President Neto of Angola once told him in Luanda that Angola was supplied with arms. equipment, troops and military andvisers by the East bloc.

But everything else Angola needed for economic reconstruction in general and for the restoration of badly-needed peace in southern Africa in particular could only be supplied by the West.

This is why M. Cheysson has no objection to a country like Angola joining the waiting list to accede to the Lomé convention.

The same goes for Mozambique. Neither country has yet formally applied to join but neither would be rejected.

According to the lastest estimates 19,000 Cuban soldiers are stationed in Angola, backed by Soviet military advisers headed by General Chakanovich, while the GDR has reorganised the Angolan police and secret service.

But the Angolan regime is beginning to suffer from the economic incompetence of its backers. Scarce foodstuffs have to be exported to Cuba, for in-

In Ethiopia General Brissov commands 16,500 East bloc and Cuban troops, including both Soviet and GDR units. Yet in Addis Ababa leaflets critical of Colonel Mengistu, the all-powerful dictator, accuse him of, by setting up a convictions.

Ethiopia, where the Soviet Union has so far seemed firmly in control, has long been a party to the Lome convention, as has Somalia.

There too the Soviet Union was once the chosen ally, but now that Somalian President Siad Barre has changed course there is even a prospect of the US fleet and air force being allowed to use port and air base facilities at Berbera in the Hermann Bohle

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt,

Europe had exposed a tender spot by giving Britain the go-ahead. He intimated that this had made it more difficult for the US Administration to resist American lobbyists complaining about unfair competition from Europe.

These complaints threaten primarily Europe's steel exporters whom American steel bosses accuse of trying to conquer market shares through dumping prac-

The critics are speacheaded by David Roderick, chief executive of the US Steel Corporation, which is expected to complain to Washington any day now.

Although the bone of contention in the cold trade war is man-made fibres and steel, the mutual accusations include other products as well.

Only a few days after permitting Britain to restrict the import of man-made fibres, the Brussels Commission instituted anti-dumping proceedings against American fertiliser manufacturers.

The Americans, in turn, desisted from measures against cheap Italian shoes only after Brussels and Rome had solemnly promised to exercise restraint.

The Americans said they were "gravely concerned" over Brussels' plan to impose import levies on vegetable oil to protect the olive oil producers of the new members, Greece and Spain, from cheap American soya bean oil and so ensure the competitiveness of European oil producers.

Memories of the "chicken war" in the early years of the Community were revived when the Americans again pointed to subsidised EEC poultry exports which harm American companies selling to non-Community markets.

The Americans pointed to the terms of Gatt whereby export subsidies should be reduced rather than increased.

Brussels, however, holds that the true danger lies in the steel business.

EEC Industrial Affairs Commissioner Count Davignon told the OECD steel symposium early this month that the steel war could have disastrous consequences for transatlantic trade relations.

Should the American steel mammoths, which already enjoy a certain

Donn Finance Minister Hans Matt-

vestment of Arab money into the fixed

He told journalists that Germany

must give Opec countries the chance to

Moreover, this would stabilise the

deutschemark exchange rate and help

offset the balance-of-payments deficit

Having assured Saudi Arabia of discre-

tion, Bonn has not released exact

figures. But insiders speak of between

The Finance Ministry has stressed that

it has no exact figure on the influx of

Since legislation on foreign invest-

ment in government notes was relaxed

recently, it has become easier for the

It seems certain that it was the Saudi

Arabians who approached the Finance

Ministry in their search for investment

banks to sell them to foreigners.

Dhöfer has defended the latest in-

interest government bond market.

invest their surplus funds sensibly.

through imported capital.

DM5bn and DM6bn.

money from Opec.

protection against low-priced foreign suppliers through the "threshold price system", gain additional scope for an industrial restructuring, Count Davignon said, they could trigger a chain reaction in other branches of industry.

About two-thirds of the trade that was to be liberalised by the Tokyo Round could then be engulfed by a tide of protectionist demands and counter demands.

Davignon's unexpected trip to Washington recently shows how seriously the EEC Commission takes this danger. But, as was to be expected, he returned to Brussels empty-handed.

The Europeans consider it their steel industry's good right to institute antidumping proceedings. But they are also agreed that these proceedings should not go overboard.

Germany unexpectedly tried to defuse the protectionist bomb by asking much to the surprise of Britain and the EEC Commission - that the issue of Britain's man-made fibre imports and the controls over other fibre imports already ordered by the Commission be put on the agenda of the EEC Council of Foreign Ministers.

The importance of this step lies in the legal procedure it triggered: only if the Council of Ministers approves of the import restrictions with a two-thirds majority may it be upheld.

But this approval is by no means a foregone conclusion because The Hague and Copenhagen also expressed doubts whether the Community's protective measures in favour of British manufacturers of man-made fibres were well advised. There would thus be enough votes to reverse this wrong decision.

All this has led to considerable confusion. Britain criticised the new unrest thus caused and the representative of the EEC Commission lamented the abandoning of a common position against the United States. But it is doubtful whether this position would have been tenable in the long run any-

Although London has claimed time and again that American manufacturers

Investment of

Arab cash

defended

The Finance Ministry says that all the

Herr Matthöfer rejected any sugges-

The transaction, so far as the Saudi

Arabians are concerned, is based on

sound commercial reasoning. Germany

provides the "solidity" Saudi Arabia

needs and, besides, they need deutsche-

The interest rate, adjusted for infla-

tion, was the same as that offered by the

According to him, the Opec countries

achieve surpluses of at least 100bn dol-

lars a year, and it is only reasonable for

United States, Herr Matthofer said.

marks in their currency basket.

notes are in deutschemarks, that they

have fixed interest rates and are issued

for at least two years.

inducement.

of man-made fibres have carred at BUSINESS themselves a huge portion of the

6 April 1980 No. 935 - 6 April 1980

market due to their access to de raw materials in the form of in oil. It is more likely that the ment of the dollar-sterling exchange last year favoured American exp

This together with the greater tivity of American manufactures

that of Europe) is likely to have F or the first time in the 132-year his-the main reason for the inroads. Bonn justified its move by concern, Siemens, there will be no Brussels that it wanted to give a numember of the founder family at the signal to the United States and thead of the Aufsichtsrat (the supervisory trading partner should not wa committee in the two-tier structure of have heavy burdens imposed German corporations).

when world trade is in a critical Peter von Siemens, the great-grandson tion anyway. It remains to be seen whether the supervisory board since 1971, has

sels will understand this line of leckled not to serve his full term but ment.

He says: "You must not stick to your

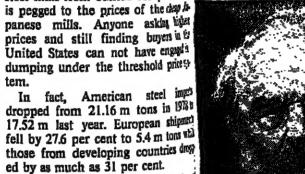
While Europe uses primarily at the says: "You must not stick to your mic and political arguments in it hair, and when you do go, do so at a pute, the Americans point to the lime when people will still say what a spects of the conflict. Understarbity rather than 'at last'." aspects of the conflict. Understarbity rather than 'at last'." The last Siemens (for the time being) so because they feel that this will at the supervisory board of the company them to test the viability of the hast bears his name wants to step down on Round provisions, especially so the day before his 70th birthday on 29 they concern anti-dumping regulated lanuary 1981.

The United States has only sort but in order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted an ancient Community pine that it is not order to ensure a smooth trancepted damage.

Citing this new procedure (are in Bernhard Plettner, 65, who has been suffered damage.

Citing this new procedure (presidesiman of the board of directors for the United States) an American diplactures as long as Herr von Siemens has said in Brussels: "We have no reason been chairman of the supervisory board, feel guilty." In any event, the American He will be succeeded on the board by steel manufacturers would find it to kinkleinz Kraske.

mely difficult to prove that their En All this has been long planned and pean competitors have caused damer prepared — as with all personnel decitive threshold price system shids in at Siemens. Even so, the change is steel mills from outside competitor 1.



Canadian and Japanese exports, the other hand, stood their ground. America's ambassador to the Thomas O. Enders, is convinced & peace on the trade front can be saved we keep a cool head." Hans-Hagen Brena

ing of the money.

DM24bn.

Only so can the Opec countries lanks.

Germany to provide them with into a major turning point in the company's

ment possibilities to promote the re- istory inasmuch as it now for the first

induced to maintain their output. As a result, the concern opted for a

transactions of this nature this year.

General corporations: the departing thimself Lahnstein of the Fine thimself of the board takes the chair Ministry, who negotiated the deal to the supervisory board.

Riyadh, rejected the contention it but this does not mean that the Bohn was driving the interest rates up bunder family has bowed out for good.

He said that half of Bonn's net cat button for the said that half of Bonn's net cat button forms.

requirements for this year had alm beaute from the months and the company only for the sake of family been met. They amount to the tadition.

He said that the Finance Minis Whoever takes on the highest post of

would be able to help stabilise interests and with it the inofficial

Informed circles do not expect at the that has become customary in

time has no suitable heir from family



After 132 years, there will be no

man joined the company in 1934, aged 23. When World War II broke out, he was a sales executive in Latin America, where he remained for 11 years. At 46 he became the general manager for the region and deputy board member.

After another four years, Peter von Siemens moved into the supervisory board as deputy chairman. His road to the top was now clear.

The departing supervisory board chairman expects his son Peter, now 42, to pick up the family tradition in due course and become the successor of Plettner should he decide to stay beyond the age of 70.

"Little Peter", as he is generally called in the company, would then be around 50. Says his father: "The later he gets the job. the better for him."

For an active man, he elaborates, the leap from the day-to-day management of the company to the supervisory board is also a sacrifice because the chairman of that body - at least at Siemens - sticks strictly to the rule not to interfere in the running of the company. This is reserved for the board.

If everything goes by the father's schedule, "Peter II", today a department head at the central administration for American operations, is due for promotion shortly. He is likely to become general manager this year and then become a board member.

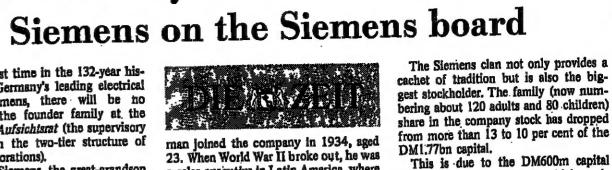
But nothing will come his way free. He had to work hard from the very beginning, says an insider, and it was mostly the difficult tasks that were assigned to him.

He spent three years as commercial director of the Turkish subsidiary of Siemens. This was followed by a year in Mexico until he took charge of telecommunications.

Perhaps a Siemens has it easier in the company in some ways, but he can certainly not act as a crown prince. Peter von Siemens: "We don't have such a thing as a junior boss - fortunately." The only thing that matters is performance, not being part of the clan.

This makes it the more surprising that the clan has managed to retain its influence in a company that today numbers among the most broadly owned German corporations with its 400,000 individual stockholders.

Still as Peter von Siemens sees it, the family still guarantees continuity. It is a stabilising element rather than a drawback and is most certainly not a reservoir from which to draw top executives. Slemens is a public company in the true sense, with a clear family accent.



increase in the past decade which made the decline of the Siemens share inevitable notwithstanding the modest price at which the added shares were issued.

The family today holds stock worth a nominal DM180m with a market value of about DM960m. But this includes a nominal DM40m worth of preferred stock whose market value cannot be es-

There is something special about this preferred stock. Every share has a sixfold voting right. This means that nothing goes without the Siemens vote. With common and preferred stock the family holds a blocking minority of 25 per cent at AGMs, which are generally attended by three-quarters of the capital.

But so far the Siemens clan has never found it necessary to make use of the voting rights provided by its preferred

As Peter von Siemens puts it, the family stockholdings are a "fleet in being", a reserve only to be used when the company is concretely threatened by

Provisions have been made to retain the weight of this institution. The preferred stock has been bundled in what is known at Siemens as a "global share". And full authority over this packet rests with the Siemens Vermö gensverwaltung GmbH (a type of trust company) which has five partners, chaired by Peter von Siemens. This stock cannot be passed on as an inheritance and may only be sold with the express



# First year of EMS

Continued from page 5 against this gloomy background of the future EMF pale in significance.

would be able to help stabilise intended concern and with it the inofficial rates in the second half of the year.

Federal bonds and notes issued short boncessions. The chairman of the super-boncessions in the company bonn lately ranked at the lower and short board must have been a company bonn lately ranked at the lower and short bond must have been a company bonn lately ranked at the lower and short bond must have been a company beard the market in terms of interest of similar securities.

This applied to Peter von Siemens as than those of similar securities.

Heinz Murman in the present supervisory board chair-Heads of government have yet to agree whether the current European Fund for Monetary Policy Cooperation is to assume the character of a supranational central bank or merely to administer

EMS reserves. Since the final decision will certainly

commit part of the member-countries' national gold and foreign exchange reserves Herr Schmidt and M. Giscard d'Estaing have agreed to postpone the debate until after their respective general elections.

The Germans are due to go the polls next October, the French next year. Wieland Schmitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 March 1980)



Peter von Slemens

pproval of the board and the Aufsichts-

Though the family members may sell smaller blocks of common stock, the clan has first ontion to buy any sizeable

Considerable blocks of common stock have already gone to foundations, especially those of the childless former supervisory board chairman Ernst von Siemens, now 76.

The Swiss-based Ernst von Siemens Foundation for the Promotion of New Blood in Music awards prizes to composers, singers and conductors which are held in such high esteem as to be dubbed a "Nobel Prize for Music".

Even though Siemens stock was first traded publicly in 1897, the corporation. which has played a major role in Germany's industrial history, has never become an "anonymous company".

Despite a huge bureaucracy which is unavoidable in such a mammoth concern, Siemens has always successfully adapted to trends and developments.

Company historian Georg Siemens once said that decisions are never made quickly in this company; rash decisions usually turn out to be the wrong ones

The American magazine Fortune meant pretty much the same two years ago when it headlined an article on Siemens: "Starts second but finishes

There is much truth in this characterisation of the late starter who gets across the finishing line first.

A comparison of Siemens with its luckless competitor, AEG Telefunken (which in its 96-year history has repeatedly tried to beat Siemens, as was the case with the construction of the first German nuclear reactors) shows that all that matters is who gets to the finish

Unlike AEG, Siemens has always managed to fill its key executive posts with people from its own ranks. This was made possible by the company and family tradition that made for continui-

Now that the family is putting in a break in the supervisory board, Bernhard Plettner is the right man to act as family caretaker in the transition period.

negis, the German multinational concern has continued its rise to the top. Siemens went from place 29 to 19 among the world's multis and from place 10 to place 5 among the electrical glants.

With its DM28bn sales last year, Siemens ranks only after the American mammoths General Electric, IBM, ITT and the Dutch Philips concern. But Siemens has the widest range of pro-Hermann Bössenecker

(Die Zeit, 14 March 1980)

# Germany's towns and cities

Let's take Bremen; both city and port where, however, in the Schnoor district, picturesque alleys, once the home of medieval craftsmen, and 500-year-old gabled houses are to be found. Or the small township of Münzenberg in Hesse, with its castle. Or Fritziar, with half-timbered buildings. alcoves, fountains and lanes dating

from times when people still went on foot or rode in mail-coaches. Great cities, but also fairytale-like towns no larger than a football pitch. Then again, the modern aspect as in West Berlin's Märkisches Viertel or Hansa-Viertel created by famous architects from all over the world. A journey through Germany's towns and

cities is like a study trip, exch restaurants offering special di nearly every comer!





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THE ENVIRONMENT

# State minister resigns as chemical giant is accused over waste

and amusing. Just think of all Willi Görlach, Hesse Environment restaurants offering special of Minister, has been obliged to reand the many small tavens a sign over an ecological scandal: accusations of connivance between environmental officials and Hoechst, the Frankfurt chemicals giant.

Hoechst are alleged to have pumped illicit toxit waste into the river Main. Ministry officials on the best of terms with the company are alleged to have turned a blind eye to what was going

Herr Görlach took his leave as the Minister politically responsible for whatever may actually have happened. The affair makes one wonder why environmental conservation continually hits the headlines.

Inefficiency, negligence and possibly himinal behaviour were involved.
Besides, the general public are more
prone to sit up and take notice of reports of environmental pollution these plays than they used to do.

So environmental offences are, potentally, political dynamite, and many companies have yet to appreciate the extent to which this is the case.

Let us recapitulate. Recent headlines have included the case of poison gas in a disused Hamburg factory, the Darmstadt poisoned milk case (as it was known) and waste pumped into the Rhine rather than out at sea.

Then the Hamburg branch of Boehinger, the pharmaceutical manufacturer. gained unwelcome publicity, and hardly had this affair been quietly consigned to oblivion by dint of hard work on the part of officialdom and management but the Hoechst scandal led to Herr Görlach's resignation.

In the Harz hills lead mining by Preussag came in for criticism, with allegations that in a holiday resort are the aid had been poisoned for the past 450

: Cows near Lingen graze listlessly in their fields, allegedly poisoned by pollu-tion from a nearby factory. IBM too stands accused of polluting drinking mater near one of its factories by unsuit-'able storage of toxic waste.

This list is by no means complete. It is merely intended to indicate that enlronmental conservation still has a long way to go before it can be deemed sat-stactory from the viewpoint of either people or Mother Nature.

And this failure is as undeniable as the fact that countless legislative safeguards have been introduced and that a treat deal of private initiative, trouble and expense have gone into combating

The indication nonetheless is that environmental offences are regarded by industry in much the same way as trust or monopoly offences used to be: undernandable and tough luck if you happen

Gross inefficiency is the least one can say about the way in which details of Horsge, inspection and permit procedures at the Hamburg poison gas factory were allowed to gather dust in official

It is madness to allow drums full of Poison to be stored on a dump insuffiwhen a flue is opened at a nuclear mines pump into the Rhine is particular were the other parties to the agreement.

lant to flow into the ordinary water cir-

It may also be mere negligence when a filter is switched off at a nuclear power station, thereby making a mockery of statutory controls governing the release of harmful substances into the

But it is incontestably a criminal offence when a haulage firm hired to collect and dispose of highly toxic effluent simply pumps it into the nearest drain in order to make a fast buck.

There are also instances in which the offenders were unaware at the time of the toxic nature of the substances they were handling. Waste rated harmless, for instance, is suddenly reclassified, as at Merck in Darmstadt.

Confusion reigns in the Hoechst affair too. One accusation is levelled at another and it is anything but easy to identify a deliberately guilty party.

It is too easy to interpret everything in terms of ideology and lay the blame solely at the door of capitalist companies hell-bent on profit.

Allegations along these lines amount to a drumhead court-martial. The accused man is sentenced before the prosecution has even drawn up its case.

Genuine anxiety about the environment and political motives may, of course, be closely related. It is certainly true to say that environmental scandals have a nasty habit of coming to light at election time or the like.

Setting aside details that are more confusing than enlightening, the fact remains that at Hoechst and in the other cases mentioned one can but wonder what importance companies really attach to environmental conserva-



Environmental consciousness starts with the individual who washes his car by the banks of a local stream or thoughtlessly dumps waste in the coun-

Factory chimneys belching forth toxic waste are at the end of a chain, and the dark satanic mills are not such serious environmental offenders as they once

Besides, it is wishful thinking to imagine industrial activity might conceivably avoid environmental pollution ther. The Ruhr can never be transformed into the Bavarian foothills of the Alps.

If you live near a chemicals factory you will have to resign yourself to the fact that unpleasant smells will waft across from time to time no matter how seriously the firm takes its obligation to comply with anti-pollution regulations.

What is at stake, however, is not a smell that occasionally makes noses wrinkle; it is the extent of the environmental burden, not to mention the possibility of a genuine health hazard.

law. But is that enough? Is it really enough to comply with official regulations that amount to little more than a blank cheque to go ahead and do one's damn-

Would anyone seriously deny that a level of pollution amounting to exactly half the toxin count that is currently permitted is less dangerous than the maximum permitted?

Are we to abide by the principle that

tion or another. What is lacking is a

so legally) without taking environmental

Industry claims to strictly enforce the

general awareness of the need for greater care when it comes to pollution. No-one is denying that it is out of the question to re-equip in a decade or two industrial installations that have pumped poison into the air, earth or

precautions worth mentioning. No-one is seriously suggesting they should be re-equipped to preclude all possibilities of further pollution.

solutely necessary?

That would be beyond the financial or technological scope of both manufacturers and suppliers. Besides, local authorities are no less reprehensible.

water for a century or more (and done

only what is expressly prohibited is bet-ter left undone? Would it not be more

farsighted to do a little more than is ab-

Many companies already do so, and they include some of those already in

the limelight for offences in one loca-

There are still local authorities of surprising size who have entirely inadequate purification plant for treating municipal sewage.

In cases of doubt company executives may have to consider whether the environment should not be given the benefit. It might be better not to enlarge or to build new factories.

And surely a company that regularly makes small presents to customers and well-wishers should have more political sense than to lavish gifts, however insignificant, on local authority officials who are responsible for pollution checks on its premises.

Environmental conservation is no longer regarded as the urgent necessity it once was. Pride of place has been given to the aftermath of the oil crisis and growing unemployment.

Other requirements may have come to the fore but environmental conservation is by no means a minor consideration. It is a political issue that calls for entrepreneurial acumen.

Wolfgang Müller-Haeseler (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 March 1980)

## Pollution of Rhine continues despite agreement

Pollution of the Rhine continues despite signed agreements, negotiations between Prime Ministers, and objections at large from people directly

In December 1976 Switzerland, Germany, France and Holland agreed in Bonn to reduce the amount of chloride pumped untreated into the Rhine.

The chief offenders were the French, who pump substantial amounts of untreated effluent from potash mines in Alsace into the river.

They still are, and the Bonn agreement still doesn't work because the French National Assembly has not seen fit to ratify it.

cently visited the Netherlands and spent five hours with the Dutch Premier, but their talks were inconclusive.

By the terms of the agreement France undertook to reduce by an initial 20kg its chloride input of about 130kg per second, followed by further cuts up to

The salt which the French potash Power station that allows radioactive coo- larly bad for Dutch drinking water and They had already paid part of the cash

even water used for Irrigation in Holland, so the Dutch were specially

At the time the agreement was signed it was felt there would be no technical difficulty in pumping the salt effluent back underground.

But when preliminaries to this disposal procedure began, there was growing anxiety in Alsace lest the chloride pollute the water table.

Alsace has substantial reserves of ground water fed by the Rhine and its tributaries, and if they were polluted an essential commodity would no longer be at the Rhine flood plain's disposal.

Alsace's MPs in Paris, especially Pierre Weisenhorn of Haut-Rhin departs strongly objected to the idea. They were so effectively supported by their parties in the National Assembly that the government withdrew at the last moment the ratification Bill that was scheduled to be tabled at the beginning of December 1979.

The Dutch were most annoyed. So

that was to be their contribution towards the cost of chloride disposal.

Alternative disposal suggestions have since been bandied around in France with a view to reducing the salt inflow into the Rhine by the amount initially agreed in Bonn.

The most realistic proposal so far mooted seems to be the idea of processing saline effluent and purifying it so that it can be recycled and sold as a chemical raw material and as salt for winter roads.

Saltworks in Lorraine might well be roped into this arrangement, but the objection raised is that this much salt could only be marketed (if at all) to the detriment of existing producers.

Besides, it would be far too expensive. So a combination of methods, known as a cocktail, was considered.

The talks M. Barre held in Holland. accompanied by his Foreign Minister M. François-Poncet, doubtless dealt mainly with major foreign policy issues.

But the irksome European problem of pollution of the Rhine does not seem to have come any closer to a solution despite unquestionably also having been breached at the talks.

Indeed, it has come to a head even more forcibly now that people in the Alsace have successfully stalled alternative solutions that might have led to pollution of their own ground water re-

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung . für Deutschland, 26 March 1980)

# Portraying the pain in differing ways

Wolfsburg and Christel Busch- threefold division. mann's Gibbi Westgermany are both films depicting Germany as a cold, repellent country where no-one who needs a little warmth can live.

They show how people in Germany go to the dogs if they are unable to articulate what they are suffering from.

They point a relentless finger at the painful wound of unfeeling rationality. the only outlet from which appears to he self-destruction.

Palermo or Wolfsburg, which won the Golden Bear award at this year's Berlin Film Festival, and Gibbi Westgermany, a maiden effort impressive in its unsentimental consistency, have much in com-

In their assessment of what life in West Germany is like they certainly come to the same conclusion. Yet in terms of aesthetic procedure there could hardly be two more different films.

So those who obstinately stick to the tenet that form alone is the true content are right to shake their heads at two films being mentioned in one breath whose only point in common is "suffering from Germany,"

Even so, although "suffering from Germany" may not be the brightest of new ideas it is still very much to the

What is so interesting about the two is their very difference, and taken together they constitute an object lesson, albeit a coincidental and involuntary one, in radical cinema.

In art, Frankfurt sociologist Theodor Adorno once said, the middle way is the only one that does not lead to Rome. But one is bound to add, with a frown, that it may well lead to box office suc-

For years Werner Schroeter has directed poetic, ecstatic, extreme films on a shoestring. Ideas were his forte but he lacked the ability to capitalise on them.

For progressive film-makers and cinéastes he was proof, if proof were needed, that film promotion did not really work, since he received hardly a penny

Had it not been for ZDF, the Second Channel of West German TV, whom he sent copies of his films at the last minute so a minimum of outting was possible, not even these inexpensive but so imaginative films would have been

Now, at long last, he has more cash at his disposal and is in a position to work professionally. There is nothing wrong with money; it is very real and establishes a link with reality.

Now Schroeter can work on a reasonable budget his films suddenly have something to do with reality, and that is

Palermo or Wolfsburg deals with a reality Schroeter does not take seriously. He juggles with appearances of reality in much the same way as he used to juggle with peaks of traditional art form without acknowledging fundamental differ-

Virtually out of necessity a mock exemplary tale is told in terms of a dia-lectical trinity that fails to measure up to expectations.

Schroeter has subjected the three-hour

The first part takes place in Palermo, the hero's home, where we see him cheerful, full of light and music, but noor as a church mouse and obliged to go abroad to earn the cash his father needs to buy an olive grove.

The second is in Wolfsburg, where Nicola works in the grim, impersonal, noisy alien atmosphere of the Volkswa-

Unable to speak the language, he even misunderstands the language of love; the girl he wants to get engaged to merely uses him to make her friends jealous He is so helpless he knifes his rivals in a pointless argument.

In Part Three we see him in the dock. Was it murder or self-defence? Schroeter transforms the hearing into an absurd grotesque and clash between the ways of life of North and South.

The final scene suggests that Nicola, although acquitted, only comes to himself and regains his identity when he admits his guilt to himself.

It is, then, the classic dialectical anproach of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, or arguably South, North and something else (but what?).

It is arguably a tribute to Schroeter's artistic radicalism that the director so clearly sides with the Southern way of life that the synthesis fails to material-

Up to a point this is true, but Schroeter mixes his metaphors beforehand in taking an almost soberly documentary view of the Sicilian part while reducing the Wolfsburg scenes to opera and me-

Instead of epitomising the irreconcilable nature of the differences, stilistic gestures reduce characters to caricatures rather than alienating them as was surely intended.

A touch of radicalism remains but is put paid to by reality inasmuch as little is brought to light beyond what are well-known facts.

The crucial facts seem a foregone conclusion before anything decisive has happened, as is evident in the handful

of successful scenes that make up the film as a whole.

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

Take, for instance, the dreamy longing implicit in the telephoto run-in to Palermo or the swift run-up to the Volkswagen factory gate.

Nicola is so shocked by the factory gate that he imagines it must surely be the East German border, but he discotheatre, which is subsidised to the vers he has to pass it every day.

Intention and necessity are here conclusively: transformed into celluloid counterpoint, but in he film as a whole they are a failure because judgment has already been passed and is predictable.

The result has more to do with prejudice in the literal sense than with

Christel Buschmann took the opposite direction in her first film, Gibbi Westgermany. She has unswervingly dealt with her title role, ably assisted by her detailed acquaintanceship with the background and heedless of either convention or commerce. She develops her asthetics from the

hero's psyche. At first glance this makes her film very much more limited in scope, clearer and hearteningly more modest than Palermo or Wolfsburg. She disconcertingly runs the risk of

adopting hero Gibbi's inarticulacy. There is not a single meaningful word that might set right images that fail to convey their message.

Yet this limitation to exclusively optical argumentation is a truly successful radical approach.

Gibbi comes home after years at sea and skulks around his mother's chip shop in St Pauli, Hamburg, like a cat on a hot tin roof. The glances, the street feeling and the

emotions suppressed with difficulty are weird and impossible to describe. It is a return home by someone who

can no longer do without home yet the moment he does return promptly despairs of the reality of home, which fails to live up to the expectations he dreamt up far away. Christel Buschmann banishes all feel-

ings of warmth from her imagery, successfully, superbly avoiding even the marest suspicion of sentimentality.

Never have I seen the dialectic of this major topic dealt with in greater detail or with greater tenderness on film. She wisely leaves to pictures and music what others only talk to pieces.

The result is an appearance of pitiless harshness that is surprising for a female director. Christel Buschmann knows what she shows us, however, and is for-Continued on page 11



Knifing scene in 'Palermo or Wolfsburg.' (Photos proking Milnohen)

## Artists hold EDUCATION

### Special school tries to help girls a publicity festival with behavioural disturbances rtists in Hamburg, long a por A cond in public esteem being

are organising an art festival to Cixteen students are normally in the Class. But only nine manage to get

pulls up her sleeve. She had just spent a

mall and were overprotective. She start-

put into a special school for problem

"Roll down your sleeve. We all know

Continued from page 10

It will be held from 11 to 19 04 there on Monday. and aim at "a change in the of And those who do come have the climate in Hamburg in favour d Monday morning blues. arts, opening up a new public and All 16 are girls with behavioural dis-

ing pressure to bear on politiciant turbances and they are enrolled in a spedown to systematic work on prome cial school for a year in an effort to get a minimum education certificate. of the arts." The nucleus of this move is a Once they had attended Hauptschule, member Freie Vereinigung of Han which provides the compulsory min-

artists set up by painters and a imum of education in Germany. But about a year ago in dissatisfaction; they all dropped out. the inactivity of their professional Now, without at least a certificate from this special school, employment

The Vereinigung has marshalled a prospects would be slim. stantial support. The director of la And few do get through. burg's Kunstverein is sympathetics. The first hour is devoted to arithmethe manager of the city's Komme tic: but the girls' heads are still fuzzy

from the weekend. Two actually partici-Künstlerhaus Weidenallee, a works nate in the lesson - the others are cooperative, is strongly in favourd dozing. Anyway, classwork progresses by festival move. So is the College of a going back to simple addition. Some of an organisation of women stish a the girls now pay a bit of attention. some of the 100 or so Hamburg all Monika who is an epileptic, fakes a fit, causing a stir. They will all be taking part in the "Stand up, Monika?" the teacher says

tumn art festival, holding exhibitest barshly. "How much is 11 times 14?" opening to the public, showing still Monika thinks with obvious difficulty. holding happenings, running lith she has decided to postpone the fit unground painting sessions and an til later. scenes, talk shows and a jumbo thi But not all of her fits are faked. Once the Markthalle, a major communicate the had to be taken away in an ambu-

Preliminaries are supervised by 1 For the teacher, it is a nerve-wracking working party in which the mine business to separate the real from the groups are represented. It is being taked fits. In any event, what little how to allocate the DM70,000 her attention there was in class is now gone. nicipal arts department has in Petra, a beautiful half-caste, suddenly earmarked for the festival.

attention to themselves

Further cash is to be raised in to week in a psychiatric ward for drug adtions and from sales of a monthly & dict. einigung magazine in A4 format entit. Petra was a problem child from the (in German) Partisan and Autonomy very beginning. Her parents, both civil Paper by and for the Free Purification servants, adopted her when she was Art in Hamburg.

These funds will be used to one clusing hashish in kindergarten. special expenditure such as rent, eq. Due to her behavioural disturbance. ment, expenses, cost of materials p she was taken out of Hauptschule and

Exhibitions and the like held by a children. Now she is showing her tablished institutions will be expected: classmates the needle marks on her arm. pay their own way. So there is unlike Monika, whose bumps and to be much embittered infighting of knatches on the head revolt the others, how the municipal subsidy is to be to lette is admired for her mainlining.

Objections to the aims of the cal you want to die," the teacher says. "concerted action" may well come is The girls start wondering if there is head soon, though. Gallery owners I particular claim it looks more like bil an art policy circus than advertising

Some of them are unhappy that the traite in her casting, especially in the ganisers have suddenly discovered to doice of Jörg Pfennigwert and Eva-Mamaking grandiose noises can prove pa to Hagen.

The municipal arts department is the such as the fact that Gibbi is sent to a tainly respectful, which satisfies the state of the satisfies the satisf tainly respectful, which satisfies in localic asylum, are neither here nor ganisets but by no means comes at them. The intensity of the film is such that the gaps are readily filled by the Senator Tarnowski.

department, has done his reputation good by appearing to have frightened betalling each new development in good theatre directors and had yet to standing precision, a typical beginner's off to any kind of a start in jarts old mistake, would have been infinitely

ning.

He has been left arguably, with no The laconic, self-assured matter-of-ternative but to try and make friest factness of Gibbl Westgermany is what with artists and sculptors, whose was the film such a remarkable debut could hardly have been worse and it for Frau Buschmann as a director, whom any change was a change for better,

Hannover by Allege March 1985

(Hannoversche Aligemeine, 13 March 198

Class just keeps dragging on.

The next lesson is civics. "Who may vote? Who can stand for election?" Who cares - these children will never vote. Why should they, and for whom?

Next the class goes to the school kitchen for cooking lessons. These girls are certainly not spoiled at home so far as food is concerned. But whatever is out before them, be it asparagus or pudding, meets with the same grunt of dis-

The instructor is desperate. None of the girls wants to eat what has been prepared. The only things they will accept are noodles, chicken and perhaps cake. Everything else is pushed aside.

Tuesday: They are all interested in learning the biological facts about babies, but not about child care. Next week the class is to visit pro familie (a family planning agency).

Now the class is told how to behave, that only one should speak at a time and that a hand must be raised if one of them wants to ask a question.

Heike has a pregnancy behind her. She was actually happy about it but she miscarried. Heike is a Gypsy girl and the man she loves has made her his wife by Gypsy custom. He has five children all about her own age. They run a junk shop and she proudly tells her classmates that she is the "executive secretary."

She attends two days a week at most. the notes to the teacher being written by her mother in barely legible German. The use of the language builds an

impenetrable barrier between teacher and pupils. The children don't speak his language and don't understand him.

Needlework saves the day. They make stuffed animal toys which they take to bed with them. It's something to love... there is no-one else.

The animal gives them the warmth they otherwise lack. So why not just give them stuffed animals instead of trying to impart education?

Wednesday: It is the most taxing day of the week, with economics, religion, German, arithmetic, first aid and dietetics on the schedule.

Fourteen of the 16 girls are present. But they are totally undisciplined and show interest only if the subject some-

something wrong with the school beil. how relates to their present, past or future lives. The rest, just doze. They hear the teacher's words as a distant

Then there is a fight. The language is vulgar. The fight actually started during a short break and was then continued in the classroom. It came about out of boredom and pent-up frustration. What mattered was that it provided an opportunity for physical contact even if this only consisted of scratching and lashing out at each other.

The next lesson is one they enjoy:

There are two Turkish girls in the class, Myase and Asuman, who is 17 and has just seen the arrival of her sixth brother. There is also a Spanish girl. Mercedes, and Ursula, who is Polish.

Whenever the others are at a loss to find a scapegoat for something they pick on the foreign children.

When it comes to social studies, the foreigners are asked to tell about their home countries and their childhood there. This is one of the few times when the others actually listen. Myase will have to marry a man chosen by her parents. For the Germans this is unimagineable, and they have a lot of sympathy for their foreign classmates - for hat one period.

Thursday: This is a good day with two hours of sports followed by the big break. One of the girls always brings a bottle of schnapps for the break. Then comes arithmetic again with the tables. This is followed by religion, a subject

They are permitted to talk about themselves, their families, school and how had the teachers are, and all get good marks in this subject - their only ones.

Friday: absenteeism is greatest on Fridays and Mondays. This day schoolwork consists of four hours home economics. They talk about such things as refrigerators, beds, appliances, etc.

At home the laundry is still done by hand. But all have a car and a television

Silke has 14 brothers and sisters, and the family lives in four rooms. There is no washing machine. The two Turkish girls live in barracks on the premises of their father's employer.

Only Elena could tell the class about

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all these appliances and more. But Elena never opens her mouth in class. She only talks with her mother and her small sister. No-one else knows her voice. Yet her written work is good - in fact very good.

She is one of the very few who will

actually graduate. Elena lives in an upper-class suburb. Her father is a politician and great advocate of the handicapped and has done a lot of good in this sector. Trouble is, he hasn't noticed that his daughter is one of them. She attends school daily, her face scratched by herself through pentup frustration ... and never says a word.

Who can ever love Elena? She is fat, she eats too much and doesn't commu-

None of her classmates wants anvthing to do with her because she is different. She doesn't smoke, doesn't drink and doesn't use foul language. So Elena and the foreign girls are always the butt of the others' spite and frustration.

Friday ends with German and correspondence. What is a cheque? How much untruth is there in the "true romance" stories which everybody reads? Manuela has had to be institutionalised every time her father was in prison

and her mother went on the streets. She is flabbergasted when the teacher tells her that all these novels are trash. She is addicted to them, as is Petra. They read the stuff every free minute, experiencing vicarious "romance".

Manuela understands nothing. For a pat she would follow a man to the North Pole and for an embrace she would join a pimp's stable. But Manuela has a cleft palate and no pimp would

All will leave school. But only one or at best two will get the coveted school leaving certificate.

For Elena it will be useless. Mercedes, the Spanish girl, will take it home with her, marry, have children and forget about having ever been in Germany.

The others, if they are lucky, will get iobs as room maids in some hotel or as unskilled workers in a supermarket. They will earn a bit of money and get married. All will marry except Elena and Manuela whose handicaps are such as to

Helga has an affair with a man who pastes posters during the day and works in a transvestite bar at night. He is drunk most of the time but even so he wants to have children with her; but she knows how to prevent this.

More will be said on this subject at pro familio next week.

It has never occured to Helga that her man could be a homosexual. He is gentle and never shouts - just like one of the cuddly toys.

Kirsten's parents have a butchery where she will work and get a belting daily. She will share her mother's lot and be humiliated in front of customers and apprentices.

Her mother, incidentally, has been in a mental hospital ever since her fifth child was born; so the father needs the daughter as cheap labour in the shop.

Reports will be issued on the last day before the big annual school holidays pieces of paper which they might just as ell use to wrap their sandwiches. And the two who will pass are so handicapped that they might just as well do the same with their passing certificates.

None will find an apprenticeship and none will go to the polls, at election time. Their children will be born with a deficit because the mothers were born with one. What good was school from Monday through Friday? Fritz Fetzer

(Die Zeit, 21 March 1980)

### **B** HEALTH

# Study shows more children starting to smoke, and at an earlier age

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

Smokers' corners at school, even en-tire classrooms where smoking is not prohibited, were hailed as progress by the anti-authoritarian movement 10 or 15 years ago. But in medical terms they are merely the beginning of an alarming development.

Some years ago a poll at 1.250 schools in Baden-Württemberg revealed a substantial increase in the number of smokers at more than half the schools where smoking was allowed.

A countrywide survey, the results of which have just been published, confirms this trend.

The preventive oncology research unit. a group at Heldelberg University's Mannhelm clinical faculty, sent 10,000 questionnaires, each listing 12 questions, to 35 schools in five Länder.

Schools in the various Federal states were selected at random and included a cross-section of primary and secondary schools and vocational colleges.

Pupils were asked to fill in and return questionnaires anonymously, and 9,000 did so, which is an unusually high percentage of replics.

Taking 10- to 19-year-olds on average, nearly 25 per cent of boys and 21 per cent of girls smoke. So girls have almost drawn level in this age group, whereas substantially fewer women than men smoke on average for the population as



The overall figures are 42.6 per cent of men and 27.5 per cent of women, but for some time the women have been sadly gaining ground, and the Mannheim survey shows them to be almost level-pegging at school.

Children start smoking at a very early age. More than three per cent of 10vear-olds describe themselves as smokers. A good 43 per cent of 19-year-olds do so, boys and girls in virtually equal measure.

Most very young smokers claim to smoke up to five cigarettes a day, but among 14-year-olds 20 a day boys and pirls are by no means unusual.

What is more, the trend is still in full swing. Most 18-year-old smokers reckon not to have started smoking until long after they were 10, whereas 57 per cent of 10-year-old boy smokers (and 25 per cent of girls) reckon to have been smokng for some time.

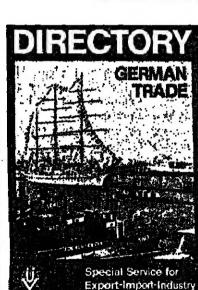
So the signs are that children are taking to tobacco at an increasingly early age, and it goes without saving that the health hazard is greater the longer a person has been inhaling tobacco smoke.

The harmful effects on the body accumulate over the years. Thus a 50-year-

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old smoker stands a 40-per-cent higher risk of dying of the after-effects of smoking than a non-smoker if he started smoking after the age of thirty.

But the risk skyrockets to over 200 per cent if the 50-year-old smoker has been on the weed since before the age of fifteen, and even if he did not start until 15 to 19, the risk he runs is 149per-cent greater than the non-smoker's.

And these figures do not even tell the whole story. Smokers who started the habit before 15 are four times more likely to die of lung cancer than smokers who did not start until 25 or older.

The statistics are more alarming still when it comes to the prospects for people who manage to give up smoking. especially if they took up smoking at an early age.

As a rule smokers who manage to give up the habit stand a fair chance of being able to forget about nicotine-induced health hazards sooner or later when the likelihood of them dying of lung cancer or the like is down to the non-smoker's level.

In respect of lung cancer they need to have stopped smoking for about 15 years before the risk is down to relative zero, although the worst is over, as it were, after a five-year cooling-off-period.

In respect of heart attacks and other nicotine-induced causes of death, former smokers are back to statistical normal in substantially less time.

But none of these figures apply to the smoker who has smoked since childhood or youth. Even if he or she stops smoking at some time or other the health hazard and risk of illness will never return to normal.

The risk will always remain about 30 per cent above average. No-one knows exactly why, but the juvenile body is presumed to be much more sensitive than the adult's, cells being permanently damaged by the contents of cigarette

This assumption, coupled with the undisputed fact that smoking grows more dangerous the longer it is practised and the higher the tobacco consumption, makes the Mannheim findings all

the more disturbing.

Smoking is particularly widespread at West German Grund- and Hauptschule, the secondary school that does not groom pupils for university education.

At these schools nearly 20 Mg = PHILOSOPHY girls and over 28 per cent of box to be regular smokers. The first much lower, 7 and 9 per cent in ly, at Gymnasium, the German lent of the British grammar sta the French lycée.

There is clearly a social factor, here, and it would surely be un cation authorities to reschedule a

risks smokers run, whereas no

Parents too much be reminded gin play in your works?

the children know for a fact that tional Jewry in which I lived. science about smoking.

the one doesn't smoke, the otherst exposed at that time.

likely to start. is but a small step to getting bookin

by the age of 18 no fewer than 12; cent of young smokers belong to L

to smoking run are extremely with and last a lifetime.

how serious they are, especially a home in the old traditions. after-effects are not likely to coult 20 years or more.

parents of 12-year-olds agree to the time making money. children smoking.

daughters smoke and more than 267 this loneliness.

## Drinking among the young with Zionism; it was a creed; the world will be redeemed, not through disaster 'alarming,' says minister

Minister of Labour and Social Order, told a 10 March Dusseldorf conference damage was in no way less serious by political element aimed at a genuine

Fifty-four per cent of young people aged 12 to 24 drink alcohol daily, specialists report, and Herr Farthmann added that one youngster in three pre-

In North-Rhine-Westphalia alone an estimated 30,000 youngsters aged under 25 are actual or potential alcoholics. The Minister appealed to adults to set young people an example in their attitude towards alcohol and nicotine. The drug problem, he said, was by no

# Reflections on Marx, loneliness, illness and 'the slide to disaster'

riculum or arrange for lesson to Erich Fromm has died in Lugano, Switzerland, a few days before his 80th birthday. He more comprehensive information was born in Frankfurt in 1900. The philosopher, psychologist and anthropologist was the hazards of smoking. in 1934 to settle in the United States where his works found a wide readership. Later, concluded, are more clearly award to set to

role did your parents and their ori-

ir responsibility. It is no longer to A: I was born as the only child as used always to be maintained and that's bad enough - of rather nechildren and young people start and urotic, over anxious parents coming as a gesture of defiance or revolt, from very orthodox Jewish families on Nowadays they usually do so in both sides, with a long rabbinical tradition of a habit their parents have tion. It was a medieval world of tradi-

parents do not have an uneag: It was not yet the bourgeois world; and it is from this medieval environ-Parents are seen to smoke with ment that I drew my traditions and my ous pleasure, and children seen admirations and my idols. So I lived half likely to take up the habit when In the old and true Jewish tradition and mother smokes too (much morest half in the modern world. I went to when only their father smokes). school in Germany — in Frankfurt — Boyfriends or girlfriends who at and absorbed the same influences to are an equally important influent which all other young Germans were

But I remained very much alone. Not From the first cigarette, smoth; only because one was always in a someof curiosity or as a dare or whate, what special position as a Jew In Ger-

Sixteen per cent of 11-year-old tradition and half in the modern world... I remained very much alone. Not only because one was always in a omerchat special position as a Jew in Germany at that time, but also because I So the health risks young worlds in which I lived.

many at that time, but also because As a general rule they are either was not quite at home in either of the aware of the risks or fail to apper worlds in which I lived. Nor was 1 at

My father was a merchant and was ashamed of it because he, too, had Parents and teachers thus hold the wanted to become a rabbi. When I was a vy responsibility, as do adults in gest boy, I always felt ashamed when some-According to the Mannheim finest body said "I am a merchant" because I only one parent in four of 10-year aways hat do think of the poor man smokers know their child smokes. and how ashamed he himself must be Much more surprisingly, 8 per cent feeling about having to spend all his

So there you had the medieval versus As for the parents of 15-yar the modern viewpoint. And so I grew up smokers, more than 15 per cent are a very lonely child. I was ready for pared to accept the fact that the anything that would deliver me from

cent are reconciled to their sons and For me, this was from the very begin-Jorg Ties, aing the prophets and messianic hope.

(Suddentsche Zeitung, 21 Marchis, This hope was very pronounced among traditional Jews, It has nothing to do will be redeemed, not through disaster but in a grand world improvement. This how you can find it written in the-

Drinking is alarmingly widespread among young people, Friedhelm Farthmann, North Rhine-Westphalian response of alcohol and nicoting the means limited to prohibited name of alcohol and nicoting the means are religious, aimed at perfecting man and his concentrating on intellecting There were instances in which that spiritual and moral standards and a in cases of what drug addiction is a transformation of the world, a new soligious principles.

Chain smokers in particular helf want to say is that this messerious risk of ruining their helf serious risk of ruining their helf sand idea is the redeeming thing that Smoking, Herr Farthmann said, was the remained with me to this day. It is least partly to blame for the poor helf an idea in which the religious and the

other secondary schools are less a uestion: Professor Fromm, what the bend altogether considering my overanxious parents. Perhaps I also owe it to impressions at the time which had a great effect on me.

Q: Did you at that time come to the Freud type of analysis without any conflicts or did you have your doubts about

A: Oh no. I was a good disciple and I had no doubts. The whole thing impressed me greatly. But the way it is with such doctrines I simply suppressed my doubts and so I remained a good Freudian throughout my time at university. But then doubts began coming up. Still, I graduated at the Berlin Institute of Psychology.

That was in 1931 - or maybe 1932. It was absolutely orthodox. Then I analysed for five or six years, strictly according to the book ... the way I had learned to do it. In other words, I expected to hear from the patient what the theory - or the dogma if you like expected of me to hear. I expected what I had to expect and what any true analyst had to find, given the necessary pa-

Q: What you mean is that there is a theory and that it is presented to the patient. Is that the point at which your criticism set in?

A: Yes. I finally found out that I always heard what I expected to hear. Never anything new. There were always the routine terms; oedipus complex, fear of castration and that sort of thing. And when I saw the constant recurrence of it I was glad when the patient presented a dream that fitted the pattern.

But eventually I realised that I knew too little about the patient as a person. And secondly, I became increasingly bored with the whole thing. Little by little I started asking myself what it was I really saw and then my eyes were opened and I saw the patient as a whole. began to shed the libido theory, which was terribly confining anyway, and tried to understand the whole person and his structure and his position not only in the family but in society as well.

Q: What did you find particularly confining about Freud's theory?

A: Well, above all its bourgeois attitude with the family as the ultimate reality. Freud was unable to look beyond

Hardly any great philosopher has been so badly distorted as Marx - both by the Communists and the Social Democrats... The pathos behind Marx was of a religious nature although he sharply criticised religion."

the family, the bourgeois family ... unlike other thinkers like the much more radical John Stewart Mill, not to mention Karl Marx. Freud was as confined as the bourgeoisle and the whole bourgeois structure. What mattered was possession and success.

of one sick person in six.

Between 80,000 and 140,000 people Q: But how did you come to study year died premature deaths in the Fest all Republic of Germany, as a result in the fest all psychology?

A: Well, I guess that was because I herame more and more neurotic. I can a great psychologist, out of his male chauvinist attitude, wanted to rationalise

and prove scientifically that women are biologically lesser creatures. This is roughly like the arguments used against negros or those Hitler used against the

Q: What role did Marxism play for you, a religiously oriented person?

A: Hardly any great philosopher has been so badly distorted as Marx - both by the Communists and the Social Democrats, both of whom interpreted Marx to the effect that what mattered was for the working class to live as happily as the bourgeoisie; in other words, a hourgeoisie for all.

This was both the Stalinist and the reformistic solution. What Marx wanted was to put man in the centre again. The pathos behind Marx was of a religious nature although he sharply criticised religion - not from a bourgeois-atheistic vantage point but from a religiousatheistic viewpoint, along the lines of Ernst Bloch who represented this view very clearly and radically.

What mattered for Marx was the realisation of religiousness in real life, to have a society structured in such a way that the principles of justice, love, truthfulness - or of being rather than having, as I put it in one of my books - prevail in daily life.

Marx came a hundred years too early. He lived in a time of which he believed that it marked the end of the capitalist

People are so far removed from genuine religious experience that they take appearances for reality, that they fall for hings that don't activate them, don't change them; things that they can find in a much better and beautiful form in the existing religions."

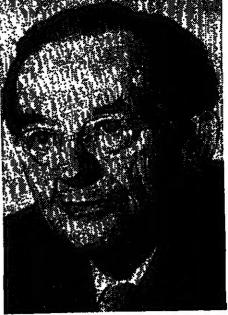
system. But he was badly mistaken. A hundred years ago the capitalist system still had its peak before it.

If Marx were living today, in the crisis of capitalism, when many people have come to realise that it is untenable in the long run, his message would have been much more effective. It could not have been as easily distorted as happened then, almost of necessity: when somebody comes and formulates a counter theory to capitalism at its peak then it is only natural to twist it and turn it into a purely economic problem, a purely economic demand. And that's what

Q: And now you mean that our present capitalist society is in a crisis which for purely economic reasons forces it to revert to this type of religiousness?

A: I believe that a great many people are prepared today to seek a road that would truly satisfy man - a road that would respect man. They are people who feel that a life where everything serves money, competition and exploitation is in reality a life that makes people

For this reason there are so many sophies... in fact, I'd say, who "fall for them." Most of this stuff is pure fake. It is the commercialisation of religious, terested in Buddhism and Zen Buddhism and Taoism . . . very seriously interested and more than interested. But what's happening today is no serious what's happening today is no serious interest; it is salesmanship with modern business methods, complete with adver-



Erich Fromm

tising, trying to sell something that will satisfy religious feelings and longings.

The people are so far removed from genuine religious experience that they take appearances for reality, that they fall for things that don't activate them, don't change them; things they can find in a much better and more beautiful form in the existing religions.

Q: You once wrote that Europe has to this day not been Christian. This is actually an enormity.

A: Well, it isn't such an enormity though it is perhaps somewhat surprising because we lived in an illusion. What is Christianity? Jesus was a man, he was poor and wanted no possessions. no power; but temptation was put in his way, temptation to power, and he reject-

He was a man full of love who gave his life for the people. This is contrasted by the heathen principle of the old Greeks, the old Teutons, that says: what matters is power, supremacy, and it is nice to die if you know that you are the

So now let us ask: where is the Christian spirit in Europe? Whom do we admire today? Do we admire the poor? Do we admire those who make sacrifices? Do we admire those who love?

Q: You once wrote: we live in a society of notoriously unhappy people.

A: Yes, if you keep your eyes open you can see it. I mean, most people pretend to be happy - even to themselves - because if you are unhappy you are a

So you wear the mask of happiness because otherwise you'll lose your credit on the market and you will no longer be a normal and successful person. But just look at the people. You can see the

'The most normal (people) are the sickest. And the sick are the healthy. I know that sounds witty and exaggerated. But I am very serious about it.

unrest and irritability behind the mask. you can see annoyance, depression, slee-

plessness, unhappiness. At the very beginning of this century people spoke of the malaise du siècle. That is what Freud called the discomfiture in culture. But it is not discomfibourgeois society that has made man a workhorse and that has prevented all that is important: the ability to love, to be there for others, to think and not to be an instrument of the economy but the ultimate purpose of all economic

Q: Does this mean that the people we Continued on page 14

### **MODERN LIVING**

## Demand for coal returns, but where have all the miners gone?

Change of shift at the Dortmund Gneisenau coal mine. The men going off work are in the showers. One sings a somewhat gaudy tune as black water runs off grimy bodies.

Werner Hausmann tosses his dirty work clothes in the big container before changing: "When you write your article let them know that we still work as hard as ever." The other men agree "It's a rotten job", says one. And indeed, standing there in his grey longjohns he certainly does not look like the fellow who hit the jackpot. He is black from tip to toe. "Even at night, when I blow my nose there is still coaldust coming out".

. The men are tired and not particularly talkative. They change silently and mechanically, a word or two comes forth as if it had to be squeezed out. There is a terse sentence about the next vacation, about the pigeon loft at home or about

Before leaving, Hausmann says that he would never swop with some poor beggar working on an assembly line.

The mine shafts are hot and dusty and damp. There is no headroom. The men collect the coal once the machines have loosened it by the ton, totally surrounded by impenetrable dust. All that is visible are the torches on their hel-

Down there, 1,228 metres below the surface, you soon understand what they mean by tough work. You also understand why people are not exactly queueing up for this kind of work.

The mining industry in this country would come to a standstill if it were not for the foreign workers. The Miners Union organ Die Einheit (unity) recently wrote: "The demand for coal will rise as the chances of getting enough miners diminish. Labour is about to become the number one problem of the industry."

Mining executives admit quite freely that they are plagued by labour shortages, that their staff is too old and that they would be happy to hire new blood. But while some are pessimistic, others see the future in a rosier light.

One says: "Five years ago, we trained one whereas now we are training 200

But statistics do not support this optimism: The average age of German miners working underground is 40. In the next 10 to 15 years some 70 per cent of these people will reach retirement age; and even now the industry is short of 3,000 men.

No-one knows where they are to come from. In fact, this very statistic does little to promote the image of the miner as an occupation: despite undeniable progress in improving working conditions, the quota of occupational diseases among miners is 40 times greater than the average among the working population. The number of severe and fatal accidents is also many times greater than in other branches of industry.

Mining is almost completely mechanised nowadays, the hammer and pickaxe having been replaced by sophisticated machinery. But the dirt, noise and tropical humidity have remained. So has, the work in a doubled over position.

But then, mining has never been considered easy work, and even 100 years ago a miner-poet wrote: "The absence of whin and shackles is all that distinguishes the miner from the galleyslave."

In those days, special trains carried thousands of Silesians, Poles and Russians to the gates of German mines. each equipped with hammer and pickaxe. It was the heyday of coal and above all the coal barons who converted it into pure gold. It was coal that led to the first industrial revolution. The miner himself was regarded as a nonentity. All this changed in the Nazi era when coal was essential for the war effort and the miner was declared a "hero of labour" and received extra rations.

The same was true in the immediate post-war years when Germany's economic miracle depended on coal. The miner was king and his wages tops.

But then came oil, and coal was only spoken of when crises arose: 300,000 miners have lost their jobs in the past 20 years and of the then 173 mines. only 40 remain.

But the oil price explosion has led to a renaissance of coal. All of a sudden. coal and miners are in demand again.

Jochen Robok of the Gneisenau mines, says: "The miner has suddenly become someone again. Mining has be-

generally term normal are actually sick

A: Oh yes. The most normal are the

sickest. And the sick are the healthy.

suppressed certain human things that

Like pain, such a symptom is only a

sign that something is wrong. Lucky

those who have symptoms. If man could

not feel pain he would be in a very dan-

gerous position. But many people - 1

mean the normal ones - are so adapted.

have rid themselves of everything that is

their very own, they are so alienated and

so much a robot-like instrument that

they no longer feel a conflict. In other

words, their real sentiments, their love,

their hate. have already been suppressed

or have so strophied that these people

present the picture of a chronic light

A: The reasons are obvious: our socie-

ty is based on the principle that the aim

in life is more production and more

consumption. Progress in economy and

technology. Not man. What is good for

Q: You wrote that our society today

must start thinking again - if for no

A: There are publications today -

researchers - which show that if we

You pointed to the Club of Rome.

schizophrenia.

Q: And the reasons?

harmful and indeed deadly.

from your vantage point?

cause symptoms of illness.

150,000 miners have been disabled since come attractive because it offers better career prospects than ever before due to special training facilities."

But Herr Robok realises that labour shortage remains a bugbear.

Nobody wanting to become a miner today will have any difficulty. This is also true of those who switched to other work during the coal crisis.

Down in the shafts one meets more and more people who had once been miners and then gone to the auto industry to work on the assembly line until they were so fed up that they were prepared to take a DM400 a month cut only to get back to less soul-destroying

The days when a miner earned top wages are over. Today, the pay for mining is somewhere in the middle of

Ruhrkohle AG executives realise that the pay must be raised. As Herr Robok puts it: "There is a lot of lost time to be made up for."

What he is thinking of is shorter working hours and a further humanisation of work plus higher wages. After all, new blood can only be attracted by financial incentives.

The shrinking process in the mining industry has left its mark. The fear of being sacked is still there. This becomes particularly clear when talking to the

He says: "In 1962, they give to boot. Today they are trying in he SPORT again with top pay offers. How the they really think we are?"

But foreman Franke at the Gree mine sees it differently. His son in to become a miner although only years ago he would have dissuadd young man from contemplating type of work.

Werner Hausmann has no som he has is two daughters with who lives in an old miner's cottage, The of houses that was erected by the pany survived the war - and los The paint is peeling and the wil A visitor to Bad Lauterberg, the Harz frames are full of dry rot.

Inside, the house is furnished of his health's sake, had heard that a Hunsively in imitation old German a garian and a German were playing chess furniture. Both daughters are sted in a conference room at his hotel. secondary school, and the elder hat It was, he understood, a world chamcome politically involved on behit; plonship quarter-final game, so he dethe Greens (environmentalists) - E cided to go along. The sight of two giants of the chessboard pitting their

This whole anti-nuke business is wits against each other was unlikely to nonsense. We need nuclear power in upset his frail health. are not to become pawns of the Am So off he went, blissfully unaware of chess theory and tactics. He just thought savs Herr Hausmann.

He himself is an SPD voter been he'd have a look. But on three separate occasions he wasn't allowed into the "Schmidt's OK." He doesn't think much of a mom, he complained.

struggle, which he considers past him. This wasn't strictly true. He could The worker, he says, is better offt have got in by paying a small fee, had day than ever before. It doesn't be but known. But he would hardly Herr Hausmann that his take-home, have thought it worth the money. of DM1,900 does not exactly permit. Yet for a layman this mercenary to live in luxury. "It's enough for mit demand might just have been warranted. it was an unusual event that was surely live decently."

Far more important than mong a worth a few marks to see at first hand. the working conditions. "Work in E But as it happened, chess buffs must shaft is bloody tough."

Small wonder, then, that Wer what they paid to see the opening of the Hausmann falls asleep in his cards would game between Andres Adorjan Gernot Müller Sense and Robert Hübner can hardly have (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 Mach 185: been felt to be worth the outlay.

For their hard-earned cash all they were to see were 19 moves, 18 of which

have felt gravely disappointed. For them

chances of not losing it were only en were textbook moves too. or two per cent you'd be a fed: Not, of course, that anyone would exinvest. If a man is critically ill and is pect chess grand masters to face the is a one or two per cent change public and say: "Ladies and gentlemen, saving his life medicine will do not the game we are about to play will start thing in its power to save it. And so: with a well-known opening. Please open issues ultimately involve the life your textbooks at the Spanish opening. open variation. And this is how it goes." I believe that we all know much me: A grand master will naturally never

than we realise. We are using a per dram of doing any such thing. Even portion of our energy to suppress it though the next move may be a foretruth. We are running away from a gone conclusion he will do his best to selves. Our dreams are the best prof look inscrutable and possibly about to There I differ from Freud, who said it resort to a stroke of genius. dreams were always the wish fulfilled. If he happens to be Robert Hübner,

of relatively primitive, essentially still the Bavarian grand master, he may well desires. But dreams that convey reals that his hands above his head, tions that don't fit conscious patter that deeply and cross them behind are equally frequent if not more so.

All the constitutions parts the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing a gesture registered respectively.

All the constitutions parts the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing the constitution of collective strength and cross them bearing the collective strength and cross the collect

in stony silence dering how long he ought to take before making the move that is the foregone

Sicilian and Grünfeld tactics

As he does so he will either look into the middle distance or gaze engrossedly at the floor, maybe stopping off at the drinks table with its array of mineral water and fruit juice.

pionship game.

thought. The hotel is pleasant, the expenses paid for. You can hardly blame players for not wanting to rush through the game at breakneck speed merely for the sake of a quick win.

The Hungarian delegation includes a psychologist - virtually de rigueur since Korchnoi complained in 1978 that his powers of concentration had been upset by a hypnotist in the world championship final against Karpov.

Hübner's only aide is Sigurjonsson, the Icelandic grand master, but for a loner of his calibre that in itself is a substantial concession to the need for

The Bayarian grand master is the clear favourite at Bad Lauterberg. When lots were drawn in Amsterdam he was fortunate enough to draw the player generally rated the poorest of the eight quarter-finalists.

Adorian, 30 this year, is two years younger than Hübner, who needs only to win one game (and he did win the

conclusion), he will pace grandly up and down in his half of the room.

Alcohol would naturally spall the death of the aforementioned strokes of genius that are the very least chess buffs might expect to see at a world cham-

It is all done with malice afore-

companionship.

third) provided all the others are drawn



Robert Hübner (left) in passive action, in this case against Russia's Karpov.

(which should not prove too difficult for a player of his calibre and experience).

The small print of the rules was only stiled just before the session began. however, after the president of FIE, the World Chess Federation, had created a flurry at Wortherses in Austria where Korchnol and Petrosian were due to play another quarter-final bout.

Their bout was to be open-ended, he ruled, meaning there was to be no limit to the number of games to be played, no tie break, no penalty decider, no those of the coin. It was to be a fight to the death.

The Dutch umpire at Bad Lauterberg was anxious to get home at some time in the foreseeable future, so he at least was relieved to hear that Adorian and Hübner were to play only 10 games.

There would then be four more games at the most, with a higher value attached to games won by black, and if the two men were still level-pegging lots would then be drawn to decide the outcome.

In the conference hall you can hear a pin drop. Words are exchanged only in the corridor, where a demonstration board has been set up to show the pro-

(Cartoon: Liebermann/Süddeutsche Zeltung)

gress of the game in an area partitioned off from the rest of the hotel.

Chief coach Samarian analyses the game, interrupted by the musings of his audience. They, like all advanced students of chess, are only really interested in the wilder and more esoteric variations; obvious moves are boring and beneath their dignity to consider.

During the first two games most young disciples do not appear unduly mpressed by the performance of the grand master. Both games are drawn, much to their disappointment (although with all due respect).

In the first game Adorjan, playing with black, adopted a Grünfeld defence. The game was declared a draw after 28 moves. As though this was a towering intellectual achievement the two players thereupon rested for two days.

The second game did not even last 28 moves before they agreed to a draw, but the third, with a Sicilian opening, proved more interesting.

The opening, coach Samarian explained, was reminiscent of a 1978 game between Geller and a Soviet player with an unpronounceable name. Hübner chose not to leave this beaten track until the twentieth move.

The middle game was like the opening. Hübner, playing with white, made the running. It proved not to the Hungarian player's liking, especially as his time ran short towards the end.

In the end the final moves were almost as impressive as the wilder flights of fancy among spectators in the corridor

Hübner won a resounding victory but proved a sensitive winner. As the anplause echoed round a room in which absolute quiet had prevailed he put his fingers to his ears to deaden the noise. Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Aligemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 March 1980)

### Reflections

Continued from page 13

know that sounds witty and exaggerated. we destroy nature, leaving our heirs But I am very serious about it. The sick nothing but a destroyed and impoverishperson shows that he has not yet so ed and poisoned world, if people continue to be attached to profit rather than they can no longer clash with cultural life and if they continue seeking power, patterns but that they do clash and thus a nuclear disaster must come of necessity. We shall have another war. .

It is said that today 40 nations can use nuclear energy. All this is being sold for profit. But a number of researchers have shown that, for purely economic reasons, our raw materials will be exhausted in 50 to 60 years, that the poor nations will become poorer and poorer and the rich ones richer and richer and that, ultimately, disaster must strike.

Q: But you also include the Eastern, socalled Marxist, society in the industrial

A: Yes, indeed. The East Bloc is even worse. They don't even have the living-Almost everything indicates that we will

continue on our course and slither into

disaster... as long as there is a slight

chance . . . we must not give up. and progressive elements that capitalism man interests no-one. Not even what is has. They have a state capitalism that corresponds to the conservative stage of harmful to man plays any role, Many of our advertisements praise things that are the Metternich era.

Almost everything indicates that we will continue on our course and slither into disaster. But I'd also like to say that other reason then for economic ones. as long as there is a slight chance in matters of life, let's say a chance of oneor two per cent, we must not give up. and not only those commissioned by the Until then we must try everything to Club of Rome but by a number of other avert disaster.

Because when you trade in life it is Our affluent society is therefore uncontinue on this road, if we go on condifferent than when you trade in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and it is an interval of the could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an ne could: to keep in secretary and in life it is an interval in life it is likely to view mining as an ideal job: suming everything that comes our way, If you wanted to invest money and your

pression also have to do with the danger Should the other player look as though he is deep in thought (whereas A: Yes. A prime example of collect a reality he is merely killing time wonsuppression was the Hitler era I be collected much proof that most G mans tell the truth when they say !! and Poles and Communists ordered people had to know.

But mostly they did not know # when they say so they are being hone But we must go a step further. The could have known from many signs; is they suppressed their knowledge. The explains how it was possible for Hill to do such things. If the German people had know

about them + there can be no doubt Hitler would not have been able to it in power. Most of the German people would have been revolted by this sads and immorality, and so Hitler had to all he could to keep it secret from

This year shortwave radio in Germany celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. Hitler. You'll say that is impossible; 1 On 26 August 1929 ZEESEN shortwave station began regular transmissions. Together with the DEUTSCHLAND-SENDER it broadcast a selection of German broadcasting companies' programmes. That was the beginning of German shortwave and external broadcasts.

> The Deutsche Welle, which began its programme service in 1953 followed the tradition of the World Radio Service. Its transmissions in German and thirty-three foreign languages



SPOILSPORTI

are intended to give listeners abroad picture of life in Germany. Tape recorded programmes produced by the Radio Transcription Service complement the direct transmissions.

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